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ABSTRACT

This monograph gives an account of the progress achieved in and the problems and criticisms directed at foreign aid for developing countries in the field of education. It offers suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of the process of international assistance. The author begins with a description of international educational development in the 1960's and then considers the educational needs of and the objectives for the 1970's. The publication documents the present flow of financial assistance by examining the assistance distribution and type and the aid administering agencies. Some of the problems and difficulties inherent in current educational assistance considered here include the fundamental questioning of the value of educational assistance, operational difficulties faced by the aid agencies, and organizational problems in the aid chain. The author suggests strategies and criteria, as well as measures of redeployment, in the planning of educational assistance. The discussion concludes with a summary of all suggestions presented. (Author/DN)

Fundamentals of educational planning - 18

ED 088189

Planning educational assistance for the Second Development Decade

H. M. Phillips

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Fundamentals of educational planning

The booklets in this series are written primarily for two groups: those engaged in—or preparing for—educational planning and administration, especially in developing countries; and others, less specialized, such as senior government officials and civic leaders, who seek a more general understanding of educational planning and of how it can be of help to over-all national development. They are devised to be of use either for private study or in formal training programmes.

The modern conception of educational planning has attracted specialists from many disciplines. Each of them tends to see planning rather differently. The purpose of some of the booklets is to help these people explain their particular points of view to one another and to the younger men and women who are being trained to replace them some day. But behind this diversity there is a new and growing unity. Specialists and administrators in developing countries are coming to accept certain basic principles and practices that owe something to the separate disciplines but are yet a unique contribution to knowledge by a body of pioneers who have had to attack together educational problems more urgent and difficult than any the world has ever known. So other booklets in the series represent this common experience, and provide in short compass some of the best available ideas and experience concerning selected aspects of educational planning.

Since readers will vary so widely in their backgrounds, the authors have been given the difficult task of introducing their subjects from the beginning, explaining technical terms that may be commonplace to some but a mystery to others, and yet adhering to scholarly standards and never writing down to their readers, who, except in some particular speciality, are in no sense unsophisticated. This approach has the advantage that it makes the booklets intelligible to the general reader.

The series was originally edited by Dr. C.E. Beeby of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in Wellington. It is currently under the general editorship of Professor Lionel Elvin, Director of the Institute of Education of the University of London.

Although the series has been planned on a definite pattern, no attempt has been made to avoid differences, or even contradictions, in the views expressed by the authors. It would be premature, in the Institute's view, to lay down a neat and tidy official doctrine in this new and rapidly evolving field of knowledge and practice. Thus, while the views are the responsibility of the authors, and may not always be shared by Unesco or the Institute, they are believed to warrant attention in the international market-place of ideas. In short, this seems the appropriate moment to make visible a cross-section of the opinions of authorities whose combined experience covers many disciplines and a high proportion of the countries of the world.

Preface

The sixties were officially declared by the United Nations to be the Development Decade. It is true that during that decade there was considerable economic and social development, and considerable educational development too. But if the hope was that in this decade the gap in standards of living and quality of life between the more and the less developed countries would narrow, then the result has to be admitted to have been disappointing. The seventies have been declared a Second Development Decade and the question is, can we do better this time?

The result will depend on a number of things: on a better understanding of what we mean by 'development' and of the factors that may promote or hinder it; on a greater readiness to will the means to development and not merely the desirable end; and perhaps especially on a greater capacity to understand the way in which things interlock in this process—the economic, the social, the psychological and the educational. Almost everyone agrees that the less developed countries cannot just 'lift themselves by their own bootstraps'. They need help.

But what is the record of the international aid, multilateral or bilateral, that has so far been given? Many say that it has not been enough. Others say, with pertinent examples, that it has been largely misconceived and misdirected. A few say outright that it has been a mistake in principle, or at least has been mistaken unless a receiving country has been much more firmly in control of its own decisions than most receiving countries in reality are. What everyone agrees to is the proposition that if international aid (in our case, aid to education) is to be more productive of good it must be much better planned than heretofore.

Yet it cannot be planned as a purely national venture can be planned, for there is not a single manoeuverable mass, but on the contrary there are a great variety of sources of aid, of kinds of aid and of authorities determining its nature and use. Can we therefore do nothing but let things go on as they are?

In this monograph Mr Phillips first gives a careful and well documented account of the present position: who gives what, under what auspices and to whom. He analyses many of the current criticisms. He takes the surely right position that one cannot say that international aid to education has been a mistake (how could one, he says, if one was a child bitterly shut out from school?). Equally, although of course in a general sense education reflects society, one cannot wait on social revolutions before trying to extend and improve education. What can be done, in the present decade, to plan aid to education better than it has been planned till now?

This is a well-informed and useful study. Mr Phillips is well qualified to make it. He has been an influential civil servant in his own country and until his recent retirement was an influential member of the secretariat of Unesco: influential because of his professional competence as an economist and of his practical grasp of the realities of the subject with which he deals in this monograph.

LIONEL ELVIN
General editor of the series

Contents

Part One

Background 11

Part Two

Educational objectives and needs for the seventies 16
1. Basic education 23
2. Second-level education and training 24
3. Third-level education and training 24
4. Non-formal education 25
5. Material supplies 25
6. Study abroad and scholarships 27
7. Educational regeneration and innovation 28

Part Three

The present flow of educational assistance 30
1. Distribution 32
2. Aid agencies 34
3. Bilateral, official and private educational aid 39
   (a) Official aid. 39
   (b) Private sources of aid 42

Part Four

Problems and difficulties 43
1. Fundamental questioning of the value of educational assistance 43
2. Operational difficulties 50
3. Organizational problems 53

Part Five

The use and planning of educational assistance: strategies, criteria and measures of redeployment 57
1. Strategies and criteria 59
2. Measures of redeployment 64

Part Six

Summary of suggestions 72

Part One

Background

Educational assistance now represents a flow of resources between the developed and the developing countries valued at around $1,500-$1,600 million per year, and covers a variety of channels and types of aid.

The text uses, for brevity, the expressions 'aid givers' or 'donors' and 'aid recipients'. Actually the more correct term is 'international co-operation', since this is the spirit in which successful assistance between sovereign nations has to take place. Further, the emphasis in this report is upon education for economic and social development purposes, since the subject is resources for education in the Second Development Decade. This does not mean that cultural co-operation between different countries is not also important, especially as cultural progress is one of the aims of economic and social development.

Prior to the middle fifties, the channels were mainly the colonial powers and non-governmental organizations. Since then, sixty-six former colonies have achieved independence and new providers and receivers of aid have appeared on the scene. While aid flows for education have continued to grow between the former metropolitan powers and their ex-colonies and aid from non-governmental agencies has also increased, educational assistance has taken on a more international character. International aid for education through multilateral organizations now covers about a fifth of the total and its proportion is increasing.

These developments present an important challenge to educational planners, both in the recipient countries and for the donors (multilateral and bilateral) to try to make the best use of aid, even though the variety of sources and interests makes the situation particularly

complex. While at the time of writing the outlook as regards increasing the overall volume of aid to the developing countries is poor, there is little sign of declining support for education and it remains one of the most popular and effective forms of aid.

The growth of the volume of educational aid in the sixties, like other forms of assistance to development, was stimulated by the action of the United Nations[1] in 1962 in nominating the 1960s as the 'Development Decade'. Although the commitments which the Member States assumed to national and international development programmes were only morally binding, there were two features of special significance. Firstly, a new platform had been built, from which the idea of an international contract to promote economic and social development on a world-wide scale could be pursued, which might lead eventually to binding commitments by governments in later decades. Secondly, a set of development objectives and strategies was drawn up for the first time over the whole field of economic and social progress for the developing regions of the world with which education could be integrated.

The meaning of 'development' had been set out in the proposals for the First Development Decade in the following terms:[2]

> 'It should no longer be necessary to speak of economic and social development since development—as distinct from growth—should automatically include both. Development is growth plus change; change, in turn, is social and cultural as well as economic, and qualitative as well as quantitative.'

While, as this definition showed, a wide notion of development was in mind, the main indicator of development which was chosen to measure progress was an economic one, namely a country's total output of goods and services or, for brevity, GNP (gross national product). A target of 5 per cent annual growth of GNP was taken as the main indicator of progress towards the overall objective of the Decade.

During the Decade there were alternate waves of optimism and pessimism, but as the sixties came towards their end, the economic indices of progress rose in the developing countries and the 5 per cent target was achieved and somewhat exceeded. But the proportion of

1. *The United Nations development decade proposals for action: report of the United Nations Secretary-General, 1962*, New York, United Nations, 1962.
2. Ibid.

world income devoted to aid failed to rise as hoped, influenced especially by conditions affecting the largest aid contributor (the United States) and some other important contributors. None the less, educational aid continued to advance in volume even when total aid was stationary or declining.

However, when the results of the Decade were assessed, a number of unfavourable trends were recorded.[1] Particularly disturbing factors were: the high rate of population growth which greatly reduced income per head; the mounting foreign debts; the tendency for the increased income to be inequitably distributed; the growth of unemployment especially among youth; and the flow of rural population to urban areas, which were not able to absorb them.

In the educational sector, the sixties had opened with a continuation of the 'explosion' of educational enrolments which had begun in the late fifties. As the sixties advanced, governments attempted to bring order into their rapid growth of enrolments by giving priority to second-level and third-level education. This was seen as a means of building the cadres for nationhood and meeting the manpower needs of economic and social development. Nevertheless, the principle of universal first-level education was accepted and targets set for its attainment round about 1980. Educational planning was seen as a method of directing into development channels the large-scale resources of money and educational manpower, in the form of teachers, being poured into the educational system.

By the end of the sixties, however, it was clear that the educational results of the First Decade, like the economic, while quantitatively impressive, showed many unsatisfactory features. Although there had been a number of particular cases of success in educational modernization, often with the assistance of external aid, educational planners had not generally been able to relate the expansion of education to developmental needs. The spontaneous demand for education had been too strong. Enrolments, particularly in second- and third-level education, had expanded on more or less traditional lines in response to pressures from populations acceding to wide-spread education for the first time. The kind of education they sought was the kind that had been useful and prestigious earlier, at the time when they had not had the opportunity to have it. First-level education remained largely

1. See *Towards accelerated development: proposals for the Second United Nations Development Decade: report of the committee for development planning*, New York, United Nations, 1970.

unmodernized and beset with high rates of drop-out and repetition, which made ineffective a large part of the resources applied. The number of children and adolescents who had not received a minimum education still amounted to some 350 to 400 million. Second- and third-level education had made more substantial improvements in quality, but efficiency was generally still low. Instead of 'growth plus change' as in the UN definition of development, there had been mostly growth without change. This raised the question of how education could possibly play its role in stimulating development if it did not itself change.

In the past, educational aid had been geared to expanding and improving the existing systems of education, which were in most cases already considerably influenced by external rather than indigenous types of educational policy. Obviously, rapid breaks in continuity which would set back educational output were not to be recommended. But it was equally clear that high priority should in future be given to aiding educational renovation and innovation wherever they were ready to take place and to creating the capacity for change where it did not exist.

This does not mean that the quantitative expansion was unimportant. In the middle sixties, it was true to say that half of the children of the developing countries had never entered school. Today this statement, although it is often made, is no longer true and probably eight out of ten children become enrolled. The problem is that most of them do not stay in school long enough to attain reasonable levels of education, even basic literacy.

The significance of these developments is that it is no longer a problem of vast programmes for the building of schools and the recruitment of teachers. The issue is now the better organization of the resources which have been poured into education, the in-service and pre-service training of teachers, and a rethinking of the teaching and learning process in relation to local possibilities and needs.

In practical terms, and having regard to the limits of available aid, this calls for a reduction of the supply of expatriate teachers and experts and of fellowships for study in the donor country, in favour of an increase of assistance to indigenous teacher-education colleges and national educational research and development institutions, the use of aid to help the working-out and trial of new educational patterns especially suited to each country's own needs, and the support of sound renovatory or innovatory projects wherever they exist.

It is too early as yet to say whether the realization of the weakness of past types of educational aid policy, when applied to today's circumstances, has changed to any substantial degree the direction and patterns of aid. But it is apparent, from both bilateral and multilateral studies,[1] that the will to change on the part of the providers of aid is strong.

This will has to be matched by a similar will in the recipient countries, if it is to be effective. Here the situation varies considerably from country to country according to the prevailing social and political climate. The pressures for reform are, however, mounting and it is of interest to notice that the Third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia, held in Singapore in June 1971, stated in resolution No. 1 that it 'welcomes the growing awareness of the Member States of the need for a thorough transformation of the education systems as a prerequisite for their future expansion'.

The challenge of the seventies for educational planners is, therefore, to examine what are the possibilities for the redeployment of aid; what new instrumentalities and methods can best be employed; and how the educational aid effect as a whole can be better co-ordinated and applied. But, before this can be done, it is necessary to study the educational objectives and needs set out for the seventies and, also, the existing patterns of aid.

1. See *Aid to education in the less-developed countries*, Paris, OECD, 1970; *Development assistance: efforts and policies of the members of the development assistance committee: review*, Paris, OECD, 1969, 1970 and 1971; and *Report of the Director-General on the activities of the organization, 1970* and *1971*, Paris, Unesco, 1971 and 1972.

Part Two

Educational objectives and needs for the seventies

The recommendations of the Second Development Decade resolution of the United Nations vary from those of the First in a number of respects. Notably, they give greater weight to social factors in development. While still stressing the importance of short-term productivity to raise output and of improving the trading position of the developing countries, the emphasis is placed more than before on increasing economic and social opportunity, the reduction of social imbalances and structural change. In the case of education this means that, while there is still much need for a better relation with manpower needs and for more science teaching and training of technologists, managers and other key personnel, the question of universal, minimum or basic education takes on greater importance. It means also that the reform, renovation and democratization of education become major themes.

The Unesco General Conference of 1970, which formulated a set of recommendations[1] similar to those established by the United Nations shortly before, placed additional stress on the need for long-term educational reform and new types of strategy. It established an International Commission on Educational Development under the chairmanship of Mr Edgar Faure, whose report appeared in September 1972 and was discussed at the 1972 session of the Unesco General Conference. It also contained recommendations on educational aid which are mentioned later.

1. *Records of the general conference; sixteenth session*, Paris, Unesco, 1971 (Vol. I, Resolution 9.1, pp. 83-90).

The Unesco Regional Conferences of Ministers of Education had already set up in the First Decade objectives for educational development during the 1970s. On the basis of those objectives the Second Development Decade proposals stated: 'Developing countries should aim at achieving 100 per cent enrolment of the relevant age group in first-level schools. For second- and third-level education, it is suggested that the corresponding percentages for the relevant age groups should be respectively 23 and 1.5 in Africa, 36 and 5 in Asia, and 46 and 6.4 in Latin America. The cost of educational programmes expressed as a percentage of GNP would rise between 1965 and 1980 from 4.7 to 6 in Africa, 3.1 to 4.3 in Asia, and 4.2 to 4.7 in Latin America.'[1] The annual rates of increase in enrolments between 1970 and 1980 are estimated as follows:

	First level	Second level	Third level
Africa	4.9%	5.7%	13.1%
Asia	4.8%	8.1%	9.7%

In the case of Africa, the objectives made a major assumption regarding external aid, namely that they could not be met without an annual contribution over the period rising to $970 million in 1970, but falling to $400 million by 1980. In the case of Asia and the Arab States, the objectives did not specify aid requirements, but the Latin American Ministers urged in 1962 that 15 per cent of the public funds allocated under the alliance for progress should go to education.[2]

Some authorities have felt since that these objectives cannot be reached by the existing educational systems owing to their domestic costs, with or without foreign aid. Doubtless, there are grounds for this view for those countries with the lowest *per capita* incomes, the highest illiteracy and the greatest lack of industry, and some countries will have to substitute 1985 for 1980, or have already done so. But as regards the broad range of developing countries in Asia and Latin America, and excluding Africa, quantitative progress towards the enrolment objectives is proceeding on target. The shadow which hangs

1. *Towards accelerated development*, op. cit.
2. See various *Final reports of the ministers of education and ministers responsible for economic planning in* ..., Paris, Unesco, 1965 and 1966.

heavily over the whole situation is the failure not so much to provide the annual increase of school places as to ensure that the children remain long enough in school to obtain a minimum of basic education and that the quality and relevance of education is renovated. Progress in these matters has, sadly, been small.

The case of Africa is particularly acute since most of the world's least-developed countries are in Africa.[1] While annual external educational aid for Africa, valued in money terms, is at present probably not far short of the $970 million postulated for 1970 under the African regional objective, the domestic scene is one of serious hold-ups, not only in the progress towards the enrolment objectives, but also in the improvement of quality and the reduction of repetition and drop-out.

Further, in the postulate of assistance amounting to $970 million, there was no specification as to the type of aid required. At the time that the postulate was made, many African countries had nearly half of their second- and third-level teaching force supplied from abroad. Accordingly, aid was regarded primarily as a quantitative element and no attempt was made to forecast the evolution of the character of aid over the period.

If we now look at the demand side of the educational equation for the seventies, it is clear that the economic objectives will require much qualified manpower. The annual increases postulated— 4 to 5 per cent for agricultural production and 8 to 9 per cent for industrial output— would involve increases of higher- and middle-level technical personnel of all kinds (engineers, scientists, technicians, extension workers, etc.); an overall improvement in the quality of the labour force would also be required. There would be many jobs for middle-level technicians and people with general second-level education. The managerial grades would also expand. There would be an increase in the demand for educated personnel, not only in industry and agriculture, but also in ancillary services, including the social services and education itself.

Unfortunately, however, despite these increases, the outlook is that the supply of persons with a general education will continue to grow far more rapidly than employment opportunities. The requirement is that the expansion of education should be accompanied by large-scale increases in employment, creating investment, and by the use of labour-absorbing rather than labour-saving methods of pro-

1. The original objectives for Africa, set in 1961, are undergoing revision.

duction. But not much progress in this direction is in sight. The expansion of the first level of education is less affected, since basic or minimum education is a human right rather than a response to particular economic demands. But the shortage of employment opportunities is likely to have a restraining influence on the increase of enrolments at the second and third levels, although popular pressures for expansion will be hard to resist.

Educational supply and demand have to be brought together by means of national development strategies. On this, the United Nations Second Development Decade recommendations state:

> 'Developing countries will formulate and implement educational programmes, taking into account their development needs. Educational and training programmes will be so designed as to increase productivity substantially in the short run and to reduce waste. Particular emphasis will be placed on teacher-training programmes and on the development of curriculum materials to be used by teachers. As appropriate, curricula will be revised and new approaches initiated in order to ensure, at all levels, expansion of skills in line with the rising tempo of activities and the accelerating transformations brought about by technological progress. Increasing use will be made of modern equipment, mass media and new teaching methods to improve the efficiency of education. Particular attention will be devoted to technical training, vocational training and re-training. Necessary facilities will be provided for improving the literacy and technical competence of groups that are already productively engaged as well as for adult education. Developed countries and international institutions will assist in the task of extending and improving the system of education of developing countries, especially by making available some of the educational inputs in short supply in many developing countries and by providing assistance to facilitate the flow of pedagogic resources among them.'[1]

The type of assistance required will obviously vary from country to country. The most acute needs are in the least-developed countries, defined by the United Nations as having a *per capita* income lower than $100, less than 20 per cent literacy and less than 10 per cent

1. *International development strategy for the second United Nations development decade*, New York, United Nations Centre for Economic and Social Information, 1970.

of the population involved in industry.[1] These countries generally have first-level enrolments of around 18 per cent, second-level at 2 per cent and less than 0.5 per cent at the third. They represent 8 per cent of the total population of the developing countries.

The second group has between 50 to 60 per cent enrolment ratios for the first level, 12 per cent for the second and 1.5 per cent for the third. Their population is about 56 per cent of the total population of the developing countries. They have a *per capita* income of between $100 and $200 annually.

The third group accounts for 36 per cent of the population of the developing countries. Most in this group have achieved up to 90 per cent of first-level enrolment over the first seven grades while the second-level enrolment is around 25 per cent for grades 8 to 12. Third-level education enrolment is around 4 per cent. *Per capita* income is between $200 and $500 annually.

The variations in educational development within each group are considerable, as is illustrated by Table 1, which covers a sample of low-income countries.

Variations between town and country are illustrated in a recent Unesco study in Latin America.[2] It showed that in Uruguay, for instance, the retention rate of pupils in rural schools who reach the fourth year of education was only forty per cent of that in the towns. In Guatemala, the comparable percentage was only seven.

The least-developed countries need educational assistance over the whole range of their educational services, but the actual possibilities are limited, not only by the shortage of aid funds but by their reduced capacity to absorb the type of external help that involves counterpart funds and administrative skills and by a growth in domestic recurrent expenditure. A further constraint is the extent to which economic and social conditions of poverty prevent educational services from being effective, even if established.

Many of the countries in this group have benefited in the past from a large-scale supply of teachers from abroad covering all levels of

1. The United Nations statement (TAD/426) of April 4, 1972 lists the following as the least-developed countries: Afghanistan, Bhutan, Botswana, Burundi, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Guinea, Haiti, Laos, Lesotho, Malawi, the Maldives, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Rwanda, Sikkim, Somalia, the Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Western Samoa, the Yemen.
2. See *Development and trends in the expansion of education in Latin America and the Caribbean; statistical data*, Paris, Unesco, 1972 (UNESCO/MINESLA/Ref/2).

TABLE 1. Variations in educational development in a sample of low-income countries, 1969

Country	(US $) *Per capita* income	Enrolment ratios by level		Percentage of total expenditure to education
		First	Second	
Tanzania	less than $100	38	2	...
Mali	less than $100	19	2	24.5
Rwanda	less than $100	73	2	27.3
Niger	less than $100	14	0.9	15.5
Dahomey	less than $100	36	4	25.8
Ethiopia	less than $100	16	4	10.0
Uganda	$110	54	4	19.4
Upper Volta	less than $100	13	1	16.5
Kenya	$130	60	8	18.4
Indonesia	$100	72	11	...
Central Af. Rep.	$130	75	4	15.4
Congo (People's Rep.)	less than $100	93	8	21.7
Afghanistan	less than $100	20	5	13.2

SOURCE United Nations, *Statistical yearbook, 1970*, New York, N.Y., 1971
Unesco, *Statistical yearbook, 1970*, Paris, 1971.

TABLE 2. National tax effort as related to first-level cost per pupil

Country	Ratio of taxes raised to GNP (%)	Recurrent first-level expenditure per pupil (US $)
Mali	15.4	49
Sudan	13.3	49
Kenya	17.2	14
Brazil	21.4	10
Costa Rica	13.8	53
Mexico	9.9	14

SOURCE Jorgen R. Lotz and Elliot R. Morss, 'Measuring tax effort in developing countries' in *Staff papers*, Washington, International Monetary Fund, Vol. XIV, No. 3, November 1967.

education. Today the supply of teachers is restricted to the second and third levels, to the provision of experts and supervising staff and to providing help in teacher training and curriculum development, although some capital aid is given, notably by the World Bank Group

and some of the former colonial powers. The countries in this first group also require considerable technical assistance and supplementation of their third-level education by study abroad, non-formal education and material supplies, since there is little local production of educational aids such as laboratory equipment.

In these countries, since budgetary resources are low, there is a serious problem of meeting recurrent as well as capital expenditure for educational development. Some bilateral sources have provided budgetary aid in the past and still do for special situations. Budget support, however, is a declining form of assistance and is generally taken to contradict the principle of helping countries to go forward on their own feet within their own eventual financial capacities.

It is also in these countries that there is a special need for new educational patterns, since they can least afford to maintain expensive imported or traditional models. At the same time they are frequently the least able to devise and try out new models and there is, therefore, a requirement for assistance to build up an adequate infrastructure of educational research and development and of management skills.

The second group of countries shares the characteristic needs of the first in respect of its backward rural areas, slums and shanty towns which have not been reached by their educational services. They usually have, however, a stronger central base of administrative and educational expertise on which educational development can proceed, although they will still need help. Accordingly, the constraints of absorptive capacity tend to be fewer. Aid-giving is easier in such countries, both operationally and psychologically. Aid providers are given the feeling that aid is going to those who are helping themselves and are on the way up. This has led to educational aid tending to concentrate on the second group rather than the first.

The third group requires a more selective form of aid and in more sophisticated areas, such as science and technology. In this group, the possibilities of study abroad have to be carefully weighed against the advantages of aid scholarships and other forms of external assistance to the domestic institutions of higher learning. Subject to these cautions as regards variations between countries and absorptive capacities, the situation may be set out as in the following sections.

1. Basic education

Current aid needs at the first level are for teacher training, the training of teacher educators and for innovatory pilot projects to give greater relevance to education and to reduce wastage. Aid is also required for the reorganization, re-structuring and re-equipping of the first-level school cycle to make it correspond more closely to local conditions. The amount of aid given to basic education is, at present, small since priority is generally given to second- and third-level education, although there is a measure of assistance given to first-level teacher training and curriculum development.

For basic education at the adult level, the aid effort is even less extensive. Apart from the Unesco-UNDP Experimental Programme of Work-orientated Literacy, the effort is small and unimaginative in the light of the fact that, owing to population increase, while the world percentage of illiteracy is falling, the total number of illiterates is growing. The disturbing feature is that the ranks of adult illiteracy are constantly being swelled by a young generation who leave school prematurely or do not attend school at all. This points to the regeneration of the formal system at the first level, and to means (both formal and informal) for dealing with out-of-school children and adolescents falling below the minimum level of education.

The International Commission on Educational Development (the Faure Report) has recommended that the spread of basic education should be the top priority for the seventies. A review made by Unicef of its educational aid policy pointed in the same direction and a redeployment of assistance is being organized accordingly. Owing to the uncontrolled expansion of second- and third-level education out of relation to economic opportunities, investment value is moving lower down the educational scale where costs are lighter.

A recent review of rate-of-return studies was made for the conference, sponsored by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, at Bellagio in May 1972.[1] The author, Professor Blaug, states in his conclusion that in most of the ten developing countries where such analysis has been made, first-level education yields a higher social rate-of-return

1. See *Education and development reconsidered: conference at Bellagio, Italy, May 3-5, 1972*, [New York. N.Y.], Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, 1972.

than any other level of education. By social is meant the gain to the community as a whole, as distinct from the gain to the individual, the latter being usually higher than the former.

2. Second-level education and training

At the second level, the needs centre around aid for structural change in educational cycles and streams to adapt them to economic and social development needs, providing terminal courses for those unlikely to proceed to third-level education (middle-level technicians) and expanding entry into the science and vocational streams. These needs call for more teacher training, improved and better integrated curriculum development, training in educational planning and management, the supply of modern equipment and learning media and assistance to bring vocational and technical training education into closer relation with the demands of employers. Present aid policies in the area of technical education are under considerable criticism. There is the need for careful scrutiny to see whether the resources and responsibilities of industry and agriculture cannot be harnessed to this type of education rather than relying too exclusively on the formal system.

Science education is a fruitful field for aid in the formal system, especially for improved teaching methods and equipment. The education of women and girls has a special importance because of their influence on the family, and on attitudes in productivity and citizenship. The teaching of home economics, health and nutrition and, in a wide range of developing countries, of family planning are also of great importance for economic and social development.

3. Third-level education and training

At the third level of education, aid is required to raise the quality of teaching and research, to create 'centres of excellence', especially in science and technology, and to stimulate branches of study particularly relevant to economic and social development.

This involves help in institution-building and assistance to fill gaps in particular disciplines as well as aid in planning and management to bring down costs. More 'university to university' aid is required to promote the international community of knowledge. The training

of administrators and planners is also an important need as this is vital to devising and carrying out educational reform at all levels.

4. Non-formal education

At present, out-of-school education takes up only a very small proportion of educational resources. The need for its expansion and for new designs in non-formal education to match different environments are evident in order to supplement the formal system. Special emphasis on aid for non-formal education would fit in well with the educational strategy adopted by the UN General Assembly of short-term measures to raise productivity. It could also help to meet the objective of universal basic education by bringing into play teaching media and learning situations over the whole range of the community's communication services.

Two major difficulties in respect of non-formal education, affecting both donors and recipient countries, are, on the one hand, the shortage of well-tried designs of non-formal education and learning patterns; and, on the other, the unpopularity with parents of the notion of non-formal education. This whole matter is under review in studies commissioned by the World Bank and Unicef, which are being undertaken by the International Council for Educational Development directed by Dr Philip Coombs.

5. Material supplies

The material needs of educational programmes are for capital investment and maintenance and for an annual flow of educational consumer materials and equipment. Expenditure on new buildings should taper off as the proportion of the population in schools rises until, gradually, full enrolment is obtained, although a greatly increased amount of paper and printing machinery and books are needed annually. On the other hand, the important changes which are being made to increase the amount of science teaching and practical training, especially for technology and other vocational skills, is leading to a sharp increase in capital costs.

The same changes are affecting the movement of educational materials. Developing countries are now having to import increased

amounts of scientific equipment, machinery for training purposes, publications, new forms of educational media, etc. The situation which often arises, unhappily, is that although the educational project has high priority, its foreign exchange costs are given a lower priority when taken under the criteria for the allocation of foreign exchange. Normally the foreign exchange component of educational expenditure of an average developing country is only around 6 or 7 per cent, but these items are of particular importance. Bottlenecks occur, which can be solved only by external aid or special foreign exchange allocation.

An interesting example of a device to aid the flow of educational materials between countries by overcoming foreign exchange difficulties is the Unesco Book Coupon Scheme which enables institutions and individuals to obtain publications, educational films and scientific material from abroad without foreign exchange difficulties. Fifty-two countries are at present participating as purchasers and suppliers; transactions to date are totalled around $76 million. This type of scheme needs extension to a wider range of educational materials involving foreign exchange. At present, neither Unesco nor Unctad have been able to make much progress in aiding the flow of educational supplies.

Two trade agreements negotiated by Unesco in the late 1940s and early 1950s provide for the reduction of import duties on educational materials. Their coverage, however, is small in terms of the range of supplies needed. Bilateral trade agreements also, in some cases, make special provision for the import of scientific and educational materials with the exporting countries agreeing to accept payments in local currencies. The schedule of items covered by both of the Unesco agreements are now somewhat out of date since they were conceived when the main interest was centred on the free communication of information rather than on development needs. The communication objective should clearly continue to be pursued. Nevertheless, the report of the expert meeting called to review the agreements in May 1968 includes the following extract: 'The conclusion would seem to be that these agreements are no answer to the basic development needs.' This is no doubt what led Unctad, at its first conference, to invite Unesco 'to continue, in consultation with other international agencies concerned, its studies of the international trade in education and scientific materials as a factor in accelerating the development of the developing countries'.

6. Study abroad and scholarships

The demand for study abroad is large and springs from two factors. Firstly, the amount of knowledge coming forward every day, particularly in the fields of science and technology, is so great that teachers in these disciplines need studies in other countries to keep up to date. Secondly, it is frequently more efficient or attractive for countries to send their specialized trainees either to aid-giving countries or to third countries where facilities exist, rather than for each individual smaller country to set up its own resources for training. Not only greater specialization but economies of scale can be obtained by judicious use of the procedures of study abroad. The needs in this respect have been growing with the increased complexity of modern science and industry.

Fellowships in the fields of administration and social affairs are particularly important since academic studies can be complemented by the actual study of different forms of social organization in operation. This applies to educational management and educational planning as well as to a range of economic and social disciplines. The management of study abroad itself also needs improvement to avoid 'brain-drain' and to ensure the selection of the most suitable students and of studies useful to their country upon their return. An approach is required in which study abroad is seen as part of the whole educational system and not in isolation.

This is an area where periodic cost-benefit assessments need to be made rather than encouraging the movement abroad to grow automatically. An analysis of the resource flows into the US as regards foreign students, made in 1966,[1] estimated the net cost to the US of foreign students over the first part of the Decade at $45 million annually. However, when the value of the education absorbed by US students abroad was added the balance was reduced to $18 million. When the value of the non-returning foreign students was added, the annual cost became a benefit to the US of $16 million a year from the foreign-student programme.

1. See 'Education, manpower and welfare policies' in *Journal of human resources*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1966 (Vol. I, no. 2).

7. Educational regeneration and innovation

Progressive thought in international agencies and their Member countries is flowing sharply in favour of fundamental educational reform. But little reform of a fundamental nature is actually taking place in either the developed or developing countries and the educational objectives and procedures incorporated in the UN Second Development Decade Strategy do not envisage fundamental change. This creates problems for aid givers in assessing needs for innovatory action. It is clear that aid must, to the maximum extent, support innovation and educational reform where this clearly contributes to development and where some outside impetus and risk-taking is desired by the developing country. What is less clear, however, since countries have the sovereign right to decide their own needs, is how aid requirements can best be defined in circumstances where reforms are not desired or are not regarded as presently practicable in view of the prevailing economic, political and social conditions in that country.

An example is that many developing countries' engineering courses could well be half as long as those at present given, since a full academic degree is not required for the work and, indeed, there is a shortage of middle third level engineers. Attempts however, to introduce this change in some countries have led to riots among students who felt their prestige threatened, indignation of parents and political difficulties for Ministers. Similarly, many students insist on choosing the humanities, although they know that they are reducing their employment chances as compared with taking more practical training. This is not confined to the developing countries as the same experience took place in the UK when science scholarships were increased in number, yet students still preferred humanities and social studies.

The difficulties of educational aid to assist major educational reform and innovation are twofold. Firstly, the insufficiency of the political will, both of the state and of parents, to bring about the necessary changes; secondly, the absence of tested designs for new forms of educational organization.

At the same time there are many cases of partial innovation. It would be wrong to suppose that a number of developing countries are not seeking their way, step by step, to new solutions, handicapped not only by the problem of risk-taking (in which foreign aid could provide a useful contribution), but also by the weight of parent and

teacher opinion which remains conservative. A limited number of countries (e.g. Tanzania, Peru and the Ivory Coast) are taking more radical measures.

Part Three

The present flow of educational assistance

The annual flow and sources of educational assistance to the developing countries for 1970, the latest year for which full figures are available, can be seen from Table 3.

The provisional figures for 1971 show a rise in annual bilateral official assistance for education from DAC members to $830 million. It is also possible to record an increase of the World Bank Group's commitment of around $80 million for 1970 to $101 in 1971 and to $180 million in 1972. The IDB annual commitment for education for 1971 rose to $102 million (including a $71 million loan to Argentina). Thus, for 1971 the overall educational-aid total may have been around $1,650 to $1,750 and, for 1972, somewhat higher still.

However, to express the educational aid effort in money terms does not bring out the basic nature of the aid, which is mostly distributed in the form of salaries of foreign experts and teachers and the financing of students and trainees, with about one-sixth being for capital assistance and equipment.

Some 50,000 persons (teachers, experts, etc.) are supplied by the DAC countries alone and some 82,000 students and trainees are financed. This structure of the distribution of educational aid limits the manoeuvrability of money since it could be spent in a greater variety of ways than personnel and training grants can be used. It derives from the time when the best help that could be given was to supply teachers and give grants for students to study abroad, in view of the deficiency of the domestic facilities.

As, however, education expands in the developing countries and local resources grow, the pattern of aid should progressively be adjusted

TABLE 3. The annual amount and sources of educational assistance to developing countries for 1970

Source	Amount (US $ million)
Bilateral	
Member countries[1] of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)	730
Centrally-planned socialist economies	150 to 200
TOTAL	880 to 930
Multilateral	
Unesco regular budget	5.5
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	24
World Bank Group	80[2]
Inter-american Development Bank (IDB)	43[2]
Unicef	12[3]
World Food Programme (WFP)	21.7[3]
United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees in the Near East	21.8
Other agencies (European Development Fund, Organization of American States, South-east Asian Ministers of Education Organization, Asian Development Bank)	33
Funds-in-Trust	4.7
TOTAL	245.7
Private non-profit making sources	350 to 400
APPROXIMATE GRAND TOTAL	1 475 to 1 575

1. The Members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.
2. Commitments.
3. This estimate does not include the nutrition education and health personnel education and training components of Unicef activities, nor the contribution to education made by the World Food Programme through its programmes of school meals and food aid for vocational training and third-level education. These components of WFP's activities have been estimated at over 20 per cent of its cumulative commitments of over $1,000 million through July 1970. (WFP disbursements in developing countries in 1970 were of $107.5 million.)

to concentrate more upon the needs for quality and organizational improvements and innovation, which have been indicated above.

Of the total of educational assistance, about one-fifth is for cultural programmes concerned with spreading the language and culture of the aid-providing country. The rest goes mostly to second-level, third-level and technical education. Little, unfortunately, goes to first-level or non-formal education, which, as was seen in the preceding section, is a strong priority need.

1. Distribution

How is this assistance distributed among the various regions of the world? There are two ways of answering this question: one is to show how the total is divided up by regions; the other is to introduce the factor of size of population and to indicate the amount of assistance per head in the different regions. In respect of the first criterion, Africa is well ahead and obtains about three-fifths of the total. The other two-fifths are divided between Asia and Latin America, with a preponderance for Asia.

When we look at the distribution per head of the population we see the dramatic effect of population size on aid resources. South Asia, because of its immense population, receives only about a twentieth per head of what Africa receives and only a sixth per head of Latin America. The concentration upon Africa is partly the result of historical ties with Europe, especially as regards French and British aid, but also a recognition that, among the different regions of the world, Africa contains many countries where educational services are still very incomplete. Out of the twenty or so countries in the world with the greatest insufficiencies of educational development, thirteen are in Africa and even the more educationally-developed African countries tend to have greater needs for assistance than their Latin American and Asian counterparts since their progress has been of a more recent date. On merits, the preponderance of aid to Africa seems fully justified.

A disconcerting factor, however, emerges from the study of the distribution of aid among countries within Africa. With few exceptions, African countries which are at the same time the poorest and the most backward, receive the lowest supply of bilateral educational personnel in relation to their population; and, with very few exceptions, African countries whose *per capita* GDP exceeds $100 per year receive the

highest supply of assistance in educational personnel in relation to their population. Partly, this is because the better-developed countries have the administrative skills and infrastructure on which sound aid projects can be built; but, partly, it is due to aid policies—discussed in the next chapter.

The form taken by educational aid is varied and covers the following types of activity: providing a part or the whole of the salaries for teachers and educational experts (or expenses of volunteers from abroad); supplying scholarships and university places to students for study abroad; helping to build up particular educational institutions, such as universities, by providing both capital aid (buildings, equipment, etc.) and teaching staff and advisers; supplying loans and long-term credits for school building and equipment; contributing particular forms of expertise which may be lacking (e.g. in educational planning, curriculum development, etc.); capital aid in the form of loans or grants.

Some aid agencies prefer what is known as 'the programme approach', which means, for example, supplying second-level teachers from abroad to supplement the broad range of the national teaching force. Others use the 'project approach', which consists of aiding some particular institution, e.g. a technical training college, the urgent need for which has been identified. A further method now being adopted is the 'package approach', i.e. taking care of the range of needs for external aid in a particular project including those generated by its repercussions.

Most of the aid total is made up of grants for experts, equipment and study abroad, but some aid providers give loans and long-term credits for educational development, notably the centrally-planned socialist countries and the World Bank Group—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). The socialist countries make a practice of including educational assistance in their commercial agreements with developing countries. The World Bank Group give about half of their educational aid through IBRD under 'hard' loan terms (i.e. around 7 per cent with varying lengths of period of grace) and about half through IDA under 'soft' terms (i.e. long-term credits with low interest rates and long periods of grace).

2. Aid agencies

Unesco's educational aid, with the use of UNDP funds, has been concentrated on teacher training, science and technical education, functional literacy and educational planning. Teacher training took up about two-fifths of the total, predominantly for second-level school teaching, but first-level teacher training has also been assisted, financed partly by the UNDP and partly by Unicef. Unesco's regular budget as well as UNDP and Unicef funds have also been used for the improvement of curricula and teaching methods and for the building of educational institutions at all levels; this includes the necessary technical support to the operation of the aid programmes. Unesco's natural sciences sector has concentrated its educational aid on assistance for high-level technical engineering education, the teaching of basic sciences and the promotion of the technological sciences and agricultural education.

The regional distribution of aid in Unesco's educational sector was about 46 per cent to Africa, some 15 per cent to Latin America, 20 per cent to the Arab States and about 19 per cent to Asia. Under the natural sciences sector programme, however, there was no special concentration on Africa as was the case with the rest of educational aid. Of the cumulative cost of the Special Fund projects still active, about 30 per cent is given to Africa, 33 per cent to Latin America, 30 per cent to Asia and 7 per cent to Southern Europe.

In educational planning, the main funds have been spent on advisory work at the headquarters and in the field, on the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and the Regional Offices for Educational Planning. Technical assistance missions in educational planning have been sent by Unesco to fifteen countries in Africa, nine in Latin America, nine in Asia and two in Southern Europe. The IIEP has been supported by grants from the Ford Foundation, the World Bank Group and certain Member States, as well as by Unesco.

The *United Nations Relief and Works Agency* (UNRWA) provided in 1970 $47 million for five hundred schools for Palestinians, administered with the technical assistance of Unesco.

The *Funds-in-Trust System*, created in 1963, under which aid from a donor country may be earmarked for a selected country but worked out with the advice of and administered by Unesco, covered $5.5 million in 1970.

Unicef's assistance to education, carried out in collaboration with

Unesco, has been mainly devoted to the preparation of teachers, teacher educators and supervisors, science teaching, the education of women and girls, curriculum reform, and teachers' aids and equipment at local centres. Assistance has also been given to adolescents by the creation of pre-vocational centres for out-of-school youth, especially for the training and re-orientation of young people as farmers and rural artisans. At the Executive Board meeting of 1972 it was decided to focus Unicef's aid in the future upon basic or minimum education for first-level school-age children and for adolescents who missed schooling. Special attention was also to be given to assisting projects involving educational renovation and innovative re-orientation of basic education to development needs.

The growth of Unicef's annual educational expenditure over the first Development Decade was particularly fast. For 1969, its educational expenditure amounted to $8,732,000 and for 1970 to $10,209,000. At its fifty-first session in April 1971, the Executive Board committed $18.9 million for education and pre-vocational training, representing 29.9 per cent of the total aid provided (excluding programme support services) and covering seventy-nine countries.

The *World Bank Group* are rapidly expanding their programme, which, as explained above, consists of loans and credits for education. Between 1967/68 and 1969/70 the increase was 171 per cent. The total distribution between loans and credits by region since the inception of the programme is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4. IBRD loans and IDA credits granted for education: cumulative amounts up to 1970 (US $ millions)

	IBRD loans	IDA credits	Total
Africa and Arab States	40.30	122.50	162.80
Asia	48.80	56.90	105.70
Latin America	75.85	12.00	87.85
Other areas	25.80	—	25.80
TOTAL	190.75	191.40	382.15

In 1971 and 1972 the cumulative totals of the World Bank Group's commitments for educational finance were $424.4 million and $612 million respectively.

Second-level education has been the largest sector aided, with emphasis on technological and agricultural education and on teacher training. The geographical distribution has become concentrated heavily upon Africa. The loans and credits provided are for the financing of school construction and equipment costs, with a small element of technical assistance; practically all are undertaken through the World Bank/Unesco Co-operative Programme. The objective is the modernization of education for development purposes. While originally concentrating on manpower needs, their programme is now taking a wider set of criteria—educational, economic and social—into account and is concerned with the whole educational sector. Its proportion of loans to credits increased to equality in 1970 and 1971, with a clear preponderance of loans for 1972 ($346 million from IBRD and $265 from IDA).

The World Food Programme had accounted, cumulatively, for just over $70 million of educational assistance by 1967/68 and just over $226 million by 1970. These resources were made available to Member States in technical co-operation with Unesco. Their impact was twofold: firstly, to improve the health and, thereby, the learning ability of children both in schools and at the pre-school age; and, secondly, to provide funds for food for school children. The latter has released funds for use on other more direct educational projects. A third form of help is where food is received in return for work by volunteers in completing school buildings and providing equipment. The percentage of expenditure of the World Food Programme on educational projects has varied between 20 and 25 per cent of its total aid for development. Unesco assists in the identification of projects which seem likely to benefit from food aid and provides technical advice in project supervision.

The Inter-american Development Bank's cumulative lending for education purposes amounted to $111.2 million up to the end of 1965, representing 4 per cent of its total lending operations. Up to 1965, IDB loans were limited to university-level education under the Social Progress Trust Fund provided and administered by the US government. The scope of the IDB's lending to education was then broadened to include technical and vocational training, teacher training and the support of administration services of universities. By the end of 1968, amounts totaling $5.6 million had been given under its Technical Assistance Programme for training of Latin American professional personnel. By the end of 1969, the total amount had increased to $137

million devoted to approximately 600 institutions of higher learning and technical and vocational schools in Latin America. In 1970 and 1971 another $143 million was added.

The IDB loans have been used mostly for higher education in buildings, laboratory equipment, teaching and library materials and are linked to measures which the institutions undertake themselves to update their curricula and to modernize. The natural sciences have been the predominate objective and have taken 60 per cent of the loans. The heaviest geographical concentration has been on Brazil and Colombia, the former having taken around 30 per cent and the latter about 20 per cent of the total. Chile took about 18 per cent and Argentina and Peru 9 and 8 per cent respectively.

Educational assistance is also given for the Latin American region by the *Organization of American States* (OAS) through the Executive Committee of the *Inter-american Council for Education, Science and Culture*. Its task is to promote 'the development of education, science, technology and culture', and to guide Regional Educational Development Programmes and similar regional programmes for science and technology. Their programmes are supported by a multilateral special fund which aims at raising $10 million for education and $15 million for science, with technology projects totalling $7.6 million.

The educational fields covered in Latin America include educational research, experimentation, innovation, adult education, television and other audio-visual aids, textbooks and teaching materials, and vocational and technical education. There are fourteen multi-national projects under the responsibility of thirty-two institutions.

The Commission of European Communities (CEC) has focused its educational aid on scholarships and training grants and capital investment for the building and equipping of schools. The geographical area consists of the eighteen associated African and Malagasy States, and to some associated overseas territories and departments. The capital investment side is decreasing, while more aid is being given in the form of scholarships and training grants. The capital aid is supplied through the European Development Fund and has amounted to allocations of $145 million until the end of December 1969. The finance was at first provided for both first- and second-level schools, but later the emphasis was on vocational training and, to a lesser degree, third-level education. Special attention was given to inter-regional projects in order to secure economies of scale. The geographical distribution has concentrated on Congo Kinshasa, Mali and other

West African French-speaking countries. The finance is provided in the form of grants and under loans or credits.

The number of scholarships and training grants awarded through the CEC amounted to 2,284 in 1968, with a cost of $5.2 million. The participants are mostly trained in the European countries, but there is a steady increase taking place in the number being placed in the assisted states themselves, the percentage in this respect having risen from 10 per cent in 1963 to 44 per cent in 1968. There has also been some third-country training in Israel.

The *Asian Development Bank* and the *African Development Bank* have not yet financed educational projects. The *South East Asian Ministers of Education Organization* (SEAMEO) has established a number of training and research centres (biology, agriculture, educational technology, tropical medicine). The capital development and operational costs of these centres are met by the members of SEAMEO with the US government and the Ford Foundation assisting during the initial stages. Project costs for special activities are financed through a voluntary educational development fund.

The Colombo Plan, which groups together loosely, with a minimal secretariat, the main traditional suppliers of aid to Southern Asia, covers fellowships and other educational activities. A special interest has been taken in third-country training and the supply of middle-level technicians. The assistance given is shown in the aid statistics and reports of the various bilateral donors. A similar type of organization is the recently established *Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation* recently launched with an initial budget of £300,000, the United Kingdom and Canada being the largest contributors, but with seventeen countries taking part in all. Some portion of the funds will be devoted to education. Other Commonwealth activities provide technical assistance under various regional funds, e.g. the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (SCAAP), the plan for Technical Assistance to Non-commonwealth Countries in Africa (TANCA) and the Commonwealth Scholarship and Bursary Scheme.

A new source of aid recently established is the *Programme of the United Nations Volunteers* set up by the UN General Assembly as from January 1971. Volunteers, although often less well trained than the professional expert, usually acculturate more easily since they are particularly well motivated to the values of other cultures than their own. Nearly half of the United States Peace Corps Volunteers remained in Thailand after their official spell of duty was over.

3. Bilateral, official and private educational aid

Total bilateral aid to education in developing countries, from official and non-official sources, is probably around $1.3 to $1.4 thousand million a year.

a. *Official aid*

France is the largest supplier of official educational aid, providing about a third of the total emanating from the DAC member countries. For historical reasons, most of it is concentrated in French-speaking Africa. France and the United Kingdom together, with France preponderating. supply nine-tenths of all foreign teachers working in the developing countries. Just over half of the total educational personnel from DAC member countries working in the developing countries were French.

French policy is now increasingly aimed at less emphasis on the provision of teachers and scholarships for study abroad and more on training teachers in their own countries with the assistance of French educational expertise. A number of important measures have been taken to help economic and social development through educational projects at the local level (*animation rurale*, etc.). A review of French educational aid policy was made recently by the Gorse Commission and is under study by the government.

Bilateral official aid from the *United States* is about a quarter of the total of official assistance to education of the DAC member countries. It is carried out through the Agency for International Development (AID), the Peace Corps and the Educational Exchange Programme. Its geographic distribution covers some fifty countries, with about two-fifths going to Asia, about a third to Africa and one-fifth to Latin America. Unlike France and the UK, the US has not favoured the direct provision of teachers, except through the Peace Corps. It has concentrated on individual educational projects (e.g. the supply of equipment, teacher training) and has been devoted mostly to third-level education, teacher training, technical and vocational education. It has also provided many grants for training and university education in the US and, to some extent, in third countries. The tendency of the AID, as indicated in its report 'Priority problems in education and human resources development—the seventies', is to give special attention to the economics of education, non-formal education,

communication, education for family life and educational technology.

The *United Kingdom* provides just under one-tenth of the bilateral official educational aid from DAC members, concentrating mainly on English-speaking and Commonwealth countries. In 'Education and developing countries', a White Paper submitted to Parliament by the Minister of Overseas Development in 1970,[1] a fundamental review of educational aid policy was undertaken. The White Paper points out the need to make a wider geographical distribution of UK educational assistance and to adjust it to the needs of the seventies. British assistance in the past focused to a large extent on the provision of teachers to the developing countries, but has shifted its emphasis to teacher training and curricular reform, and to assisting educational administration and planning. Innovatory research and development is being promoted by the Centre for Educational Development Overseas (CEDO). Although not as prevalent as in past years, study abroad still accounts for around one-fifth of all UK bilateral aid. There have been some important changes introduced recently in the Commonwealth Followship Programmes.

In 1970, the *Federal Republic of Germany* spent $58 million on education, science and related training, being the fourth largest educational donor after France, the US and the UK. The geographic distribution of German aid is an even one, although the type of assistance rendered often varies among the assisted countries. Most German aid has been for vocational training through project aid and study and training grants, both locally and in Germany. There has recently been an emphasis on curriculum restructuring and redevelopment. Most grants and scholarships for study abroad are at the university level and for industrial training. A number of educational 'partnerships' with universities in the developing countries have also been formed.

Belgian bilateral aid amounted to $27 million in 1969, all of which was in the form of educational grants. Characteristically, Belgian aid is for the most part directed to former territories in Africa with special attention to Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda. In 1969 the Belgian government supplied over half of the teaching staffs at all educational levels in these three countries. A considerable amount of Belgian educational assistance is directed toward study and training abroad, particularly in regard to senior-level trainees.

1. See Ministry of Overseas Development, *Education in developing countries; a review of current problems and of British aid*, London, HMSO, 1970.

Bilateral aid to education from *Canada* amounted to $25 million in 1971, with 50 per cent of this going towards first- and second-level education and related teacher training. Canada ranks high among providers of teaching staff and is particularly flexible in this respect owing to the bilingual nature of its population. Nearly two-thirds of Canadian aid is directed to Africa south of the Sahara with the remainder concentrated in the Caribbean countries and in Malaysia. Like most aid providers, Canada provides scholarships for study abroad and is at present engaged in a number of university partnerships with institutions in the developing countries.

Australia is next in volume—leaving aside its heavy budget support to Papua and New Guinea—with aid mostly for the financing of trainees and a limited number of educational experts and volunteers. Australia has concentrated hitherto on receiving students and trainees, but is now moving towards a strategy of aiding educational and training facilities, including third-country training in the developing countries themselves.

Sweden contributes some $12 to $13 million to educational assistance in the developing regions. There is a strong social interest, and aid is concentrated on vocational and technical training, the education of women and girls, and teacher training. Study in Sweden, except for short-term visits, has been stopped in favour of local study.

Other substantial providers of aid to education are *Japan*, *Italy*, *the Netherlands*, *Switzerland* and *Austria*. The Netherlands, Switzerland and Austria tend to focus their aid on the provision of scholarships, especially at the university level, and on the training of experts. Japan's major emphasis is on technical and vocational education with a special view to the training of senior-level administrators. Both Austria and Italy maintain schools in a number of developing regions and carry out the training of teachers at the local level as well.

Educational assistance from the *centrally-planned socialist countries* of Eastern Europe may be estimated at $150 to $200 million in 1968. The geographic concentration has been primarily in Africa and Asia, although aid programmes have recently been set up in Latin America. Educational assistance has been heavily concentrated in the field of technical education, very often obtained through study abroad. The *Soviet Union* sponsors over half of the students from the developing countries studying in the Eastern socialist countries. Science study and agricultural education are afforded high priorities. In addition, the socialist countries have supplied a considerable amount of equipment

for education and training to the developing regions, with the largest concentrations being in the Near East and South Asia.

b. *Private sources of aid*

Aid from private sources, much of it from religious groups, is estimated by the OECD to have amounted to around $850 million in 1970. Of this total probably between one-third and one-half was in the form of educational assistance, over half coming from the United States and most of the rest originating from France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom. The geographic distribution heavily favoured Africa.

The Ford Foundation has particularly aided science education, teacher training and third-level education, and expended around $14 million in 1970. The Rockefeller Foundation contributed about $9 million with special attention to third-level and agricultural education and science. The Carnegie Foundation focuses its educational assistance upon the Commonwealth countries.

Part Four

Problems and difficulties

Foreign aid as a whole, including educational assistance, is under criticism from a number of quarters at the present time. Some of the criticisms are justified; others are the result of utopian concepts and a lack of pragmatism. In the case of educational aid, many of them relate to the educational systems aided rather than to the aid itself. The whole subject is enshrouded with confusion between means and ends, the political and the technical, the desirable and the feasible.

Criticisms of present educational assistance can be grouped under three main headings.

1. Fundamental questioning of the value of educational assistance

Does it do any good at all? The Pearson Report states:[1] 'In too many instances children who finish primary school in rural areas seem rather *less* [their italic] fit to become creative and constructive members of their own community than if they had never been to school.'

Dr Coombs writes:[2]

> 'But what can be said on balance about the efficacy of educational assistance taken as a whole? If one must prove one's conclusions with scientifically established facts, very little can be said in answer to the question. Unfortunately, after many years of experience

1. See *Partners in development; report of the commission on international development*, New York, Praeger, 1969.
2. See Philip H. Coombs, *The world educational crisis; a systems analysis*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968.

> and after many millions of dollars have been devoted to educational assistance, there still is little solid and systematic evidence for judging the efficacy even of individual projects, much less the net benefits of the over-all effort. Still, this is not surprising to anyone who has seen the effort in action. Everyone involved in it has been too busy trying to move ahead to find time for retrospective reflections. Moreover, there is a high rotation of the people and the posts concerned. Many individual experts who move from post to post and country to country do in fact accumulate a good deal of experience and wisdom in the process. But their agencies have not taken full advantage of this fact and, having failed to learn the lessons of experience, have often repeated old mistakes. This is not the universal case, but it is a common enough phenomenon to warrant comment.'

Dr Coombs goes on to say:

> '... to the degree that the educational crisis of developing countries stems from the unsuitability of their educational systems to their circumstances, the problem is not entirely of their own making. They have had plenty of "expert help" from the outside.'

Mr Edwin Martin, Chairman of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, writes:[1]

> 'There is so much wrong with education that it is hard to know where to start. Partly because of scarcity of resources, partly based on the misguided notion that reproduction of our educational system would reproduce our standard of living, and partly because many countries were largely dependent on donors for teachers and other educational personnel who had nothing else to offer but the present system, the present situation is most unsatisfactory despite the great expansion of educational systems in the 1960s.'

It has to be added that each of these three authorities finishes by taking positive views of the potentiality of educational assistance and urges its renovation and extension. What then is the cause of the *cri du cœur* of these distinguished statesmen and writers? And what are the implications for operations?

It is helpful in this matter to make a number of distinctions. The first is that because a country's system of education is inefficient it does not follow that aid to that system is also inefficient. The more

1. See *Development assistance*, 1971 review, op. cit.

inefficient a system is, the more it requires the right kind of aid. Accordingly, it is necessary to distinguish educational priorities from aid priorities. This distinction becomes clouded when people say that aid has to follow the recipient country's educational plan. A more correct formulation is that aid has to be consistent with the plan. Thus, if the plan gives priority to academic studies and the aid supplier wishes to give aid for practical instruction, there is no conflict provided the plan also includes practical instruction and there are projects which qualify for aid.

It is normally well understood that national educational priorities flow from the educational plan and that aid priorities are not necessarily identical with them, since aid is required only at those points when it is necessary to supplement the national effort by providing resources which cannot be made available domestically. Problems arise, however, in the interpretation of this principle.

If the principle were followed literally, aid would be applied only to marginal needs, to bottlenecks and to temporary bridging operations. To do so would miss the value of outside assistance as a catalyst for the introduction of new methods and patterns of education. Aid has, therefore, to be conceived as having a potential value beyond the substitution of domestic resources. This important aspect has been somewhat neglected in the past; both recipients and suppliers of aid are to blame.

In a report of an important conference of aid officials and representatives of recipient countries[1] it is stated: 'The final decisions on an area as central to public affairs as education must be made by a country's own leaders, *often on political grounds*.' [Our italics.] And: 'Donor countries should not therefore expect their educational aid to give them the right to a major say in the shape of a recipient country's educational system.' This is true; but formulations of this kind would be more helpful if they went on to indicate the nature and limits of the catalytic effect which external aid should have, and what may be appropriate policies for donors.

Providers of educational aid are confronted by a large and varied array of needs, among which choices must be made, and they have to form aid policies. Whether national or international, they are bound to have regard to their own priorities, based on the sources of their

1. See Peter Williams, *Aid to education: an anglo-american appraisal*, London, Overseas Development Institute, 1965.

funds, the purposes of the contributors and their capacity to supply different types of aid. This point is well illustrated in the official United Kingdom report 'Education in developing countries',[1] which stated:

> 'There should be no question of merely meeting requests uncritically for individual countries. We need to use initiative in finding out within their requirements the kind of help we are best qualified to give ... readiness to enter into the dialogue with the recipient governments in order to arrive at agreed solutions'

Uncritical meeting of educational aid requests can in some cases impede rather than help the process of development. Speaking of the present education given in developing countries, Mr. Tibor Mende, in his recent book *De l'aide à la recolonisation*,[2] writes:

> 'It [the present educational system] widens the gap between the privileged minority and the ignorant or illiterate masses. Occasionally, with the support of large-scale foreign aid in the form of technical assistance, it instils foreign attitudes and values into a minority who are destined, by their foreign education, to belong to the ruling classes.'

The same thought appears in an article by the American statesman George C. Lodge in *Foreign affairs*, July 1969: 'While our assistance', he writes, 'may have caused a marginal improvement in the standard of life of some, it has also, equally importantly, provided a source of patronage and political strength for the *status quo*.'

However, Mr. Tibor Mende goes on to say:

> 'By the very process of cultural decolonization, foreign aid has hardly anything positive to offer in this sector. Even more than for general economic decolonization, under-developed countries must attack the problem of education by pursuing their own will in their own way.'

Gunnar Myrdal in *The challenge of world poverty*[3] expresses a similar preoccupation when he writes:

> 'The educational reforms needed in the underdeveloped world must all be fought for, planned, and acted upon in the underdeveloped countries themselves.'

1. Op. cit.
2. See Tibor Mende, *De l'aide à la recolonisation*, Paris, Seuil, 1972.
3. See Gunnar Myrdal, *The challenge of world poverty: a world anti-poverty programme in outline*, New York, Panther Books, 1970.

His conclusion, however, is:

> 'But undoubtedly, foreign assistance specifically aimed at educational reforms would make it possible for the aid-giving organizations or countries to exert pressure on underdeveloped countries to proceed more courageously along certain strategic lines in the educational field—provided aid-givers were enlightened enough to want to use such pressure in the right direction.'

Both authors are hardly logical in their views. On the one hand, matters have to be left to the countries themselves; on the other, aid-suppliers have to apply pressure.

It is certainly true that in many developing countries, particularly in the rural areas, education is concentrated, like other possessions, in the higher social group, as is, indeed, also the case in many other societies. As in the case of the possession of land, redistribution measures are introduced by the state. Taxes are raised to extend first-level education to all. However, experience of land reform shows that the original patterns reassert themselves because the peasants are not yet capable of taking on the land. Similarly, in the case of education, even when the schools and teachers have been provided, the economic environment and social structures are often unready and mechanisms, designed (e.g. over-rigid examinations, fee paying) or involuntary (drop-out, local conditions of child labour), come into play, which tend to preserve the original situation despite the erection of a costly system. This is no doubt one of the reasons influencing Myrdal's remark in the publication already cited; 'A revolution of the education system would assume that which is often mistakenly said to be what these countries have been going through: a social and economic revolution.'

The dilemma is how a donor can both respect the current national policy of the recipient country and, at the same time, aid reform?

One answer is that, obviously, it is not the role of aid agencies to start revolutions. But they can take steps to gear their support more than at present to social as well as economic progress, e.g. by giving priority to basic education; by financing scholarships within the recipient countries for poor but talented children; by providing transport and school expenses for under-privileged children; by helping countries to undertake educational reform and democratize their educational systems. Action of this kind supports the 'unified economic and social approach' recommended by the United Nations for the Second Decade. While it is inappropriate for them to intervene in the

domestic policy of the developing countries, the providers of aid have the right to determine the kind of assistance they can supply.

There are perhaps also two additional answers. The first might be to concentrate on increasing the recipient country's technical capacity for innovation rather than to create deliberate pressures for particular reforms. Secondly, it might also be possible to neutralize the political elements to some degree—although few major decisions in education are wholly free from politics—by international agreement that aid should normally be used for progressive and innovatory projects, on the basis of recognized standards of what would be desirable reforms in different conditions. This might lead to an international convention on educational norms and objectives similar to those prevailing in the labour field, which would have the effect of reducing the scope of political misunderstandings and improving public attitudes to aid.

In the meantime, aid being a form of mutual co-operation, conducive attitudes are required, both on the aid-receiving and aid-supplying sides. On the aid-receiving side, with good reason, some of the most experienced aid receivers take the view 'give us the resources and let us do the job'. Others request help in the planning of their aid priorities. Undoubtedly the seventies should see greater delegation to the recipient countries of the work of identifying and preparing aid projects. This would help to prevent the introduction of foreign educational patterns unsuited to local conditions.

Indeed, aid funds should be used to increase this delegation through training programmes and contracts to local educational institutions to assist in project preparation. Some of the obstacles to greater delegation are in attitudes in the recipient countries themselves who feel that foreign-prepared projects are more likely to obtain support. Moreover, foreign patterns are often sought by the governments of the developing countries themselves and, as a matter of practice, aid receivers often find bilateral aid from familiar ex-metropolitan powers to be both the most convenient and effective. In many cases the sources of aid are what they are, as Tibor Mende has pointed out, because of the cultural and political identification of the leading groups.

On the aid-giving side, the great psychological obstacle to increased aid is 'aid-weariness'. This is produced by the feeling that all the help given can never be enough, that the educational systems being aided are obsolete and that aid is ineffective or frittered away on projects which do not have the necessary continuing support in the recipient country.

This leads to insistence in certain quarters that aid should be given to 'those who help themselves'; or to countries which already show major commitments to development and are achieving educational progress. If such attitudes influence policy too closely, great opportunities are missed to help backward or stagnant educational systems to get on to their feet. In particular, they are incompatible with the policy adopted by the UN of giving special attention to the least-developed countries—defined as those with a low *per capita* income, heavy illiteracy and a small proportion of industry.

Another factor influencing the psychology of aid suppliers is the high rate of population increase in many developing countries. This engenders the fear that educational aid is water being poured into a bottomless bucket; however many additional children are enrolled, still more pour forward in an uncontrolled stream.

A similar reaction is engendered if the impression is created that the developing countries' educational objectives are not feasible of attainment, since the necessary domestic finance cannot be found. Aid-givers are discouraged if they feel that they are being asked to support unrealistic programmes which cannot be maintained by the educational budgets of the countries assisted.

Mr Tibor Mende writes with truth: 'The lack of inspiration or of clear ideas on the type of reform which suits the local environment plays an equally important role.'[1] Unfortunately he goes on to add 'for without this, half-measures can ruin even the best intentions'. This kind of comment, reminiscent of Pope's 'A little learning is a dangerous thing', has very little relevance to how social progress in fact takes place. It is preferable to follow a pragmatic policy which seeks out progress in educational matters, aiding economic and social development wherever it can be found, while at the same time re-examining the system as a whole and taking measures for the re-deployment of aid.

1. T. Mende, op. cit. (p. 127).

2. Operational difficulties

A growing operational difficulty which aid agencies are facing derives from the fact that 'the educational explosion' is not limited to the developing countries. The developed countries themselves have high educational growth rates and are experiencing strong internal social and political pressure for the greater democratization of education. This leads to shortages of teachers and experts who might otherwise go to the developing countries.

Another difficulty is the cultural acclimatization of foreign teachers and experts. It is easy for the foreign expert to underestimate the social and cultural obstacles with which his counterparts have to cope and about which they speak with reluctance. Lack of understanding of the socio-cultural situation on the part of experts and of frankness on the side of counterparts may lead to aid projects having quite different results from those intended. The problem for the foreign expert is a difficult one. If he does not take the socio-cultural situation into account, on the ground that to do so would involve him interfering in domestic affairs, he may well find that he is in fact unconsciously strengthening the less progressive elements in the educational system. If he does take them into account, he has to engage in social as well as educational analysis for which he and his counterpart may not be necessarily equipped.

A further constraint which affects both aid-giving and aid-receiving countries is the strain which the volume of aid for education places upon the administration concerned. The problems experienced by the UN development system, which were described in the Jackson Report,[1] exist also in the bilateral aid agencies. It is not easy to produce projects quickly and with the right professional skills. Sometimes, the problem is that the criteria are unduly rigid, that the process of checking and rechecking is over bureaucratized and unnecessarily detailed.

United States aid had, until recently, a checklist of sixty-eight statutory criteria, only a small part of which related to the purposes of the particular project. The report of a Commission set up under the chairmanship of Mr Peterson in 1970 to review US aid stated: 'In the views of the Commission the present ... administration of US

1. See *Study of the capacity of the United Nations development system*, Geneva, United Nations, 1969.

foreign aid is excessively cumbersome.' Changes were introduced following the study of the Peterson report. At the aid-receiving end bureaucratic obstacles are also rife, e.g. equipment provided sometimes cannot be passed through customs and out of storage without long delays and formalities, or is delivered and kept locked up instead of being used, owing to archaic laws or practices regarding responsibility for government property.

The obstacle of insufficient co-ordination of aid goes beyond the question of the will to exchange information and to avoid waste of effort. There is a financial and administrative difficulty in that bilateral aid works on an annual programme and multilateral aid is planned biennially. Neither, however, is planned on criteria which permit quick 'rescue' or 'pump-priming' operations. Yet this could be one of the important roles of aid. Greater flexibility seems to be required to permit allocations for short-term operations of special urgency which can resolve bottlenecks.

Flexibility means longer-term as well as shorter-term commitments. Hesitations about the length of commitment on both sides can lead to a 'stop-go' process among aid givers and receivers which destroys the balance of aid projects. There are obvious limits to an aid-supplier's ability to foresee future resources he will have available, but it would seem possible to increase to some degree the proportion of long-term commitments. There are, however, often serious obstacles to continuity also on the aid-receiving side due to frequent changes of ministers and staff. The Director-General of Unesco, in a statement to the Executive Board, remarked: 'When examining an educational project the other day I found that, since its commencement, there had been a succession of six Ministers of Education over a period of five years'.

Long delays in taking decisions after projects have been prepared are also damaging to continuity. Examples are to be found of serious gaps left open in educational systems in the expectation of aid which was not finally accorded. The average aid request takes about two years to reach the operational stage, but often longer delays are involved during which time imbalances may have occurred which may change the priorities. Since priorities depend on intimate political as well as purely educational factors, recipients tend to prefer multilateral to bilateral aid in assessing them. It is, however, important to ensure that knowledge about priorities is widely distributed so as to avoid uncertainties as to aid-receivers' intentions. Aid-receiving countries sometimes create uncertainties by the process of playing off

one source of aid supply against another in the hope of obtaining the best terms.

Special difficulties arise for smaller aid-giving agencies. Since the impact they expect to make can only be limited and because they do not have the local specialized staff available, they hesitate to question the project's priority. The outcome is often to adopt 'pet projects' or to specialize in particular types of aid, or to pick up smaller items in existing aid projects. The process of regular study of the educational sectors of the developing countries, which Unesco has now undertaken, will contribute to the improvement of this situation, although it is recognized that such prior studies can never be a substitute for the examination of needs on the spot in each case.

The Director-General of Unesco commented on the choice of aid projects as follows in a statement to the Executive Board in 1971 on the Country Programming Procedure:

> 'I now come to the third source of difficulties, those due to the executing agency, in this case Unesco... In the first place, I think that the Secretariat makes certain basic mistakes in devising projects, though less now than formerly, since it should be borne in mind that we were carrying out projects which have frequently been devised five or six years ago, or even earlier. Doubtless to begin with we were often much too optimistic. We overestimated the capacity of countries, we did not always study their needs in a sufficiently specific manner, and our projects, conceived by specialists in too abstract a fashion, did not altogether fit into the general context of each national situation. I am convinced that country programming will remedy these defects. Lastly it should be added that, where projects are defective from the outset due to a lack of realism, their faulty conception inevitably shows up at the stage of execution. We must in particular steer clear of what I would call "prefabricated projects", i.e. those initiated by the Organization, not the Member States. Here again country programming should make improvements possible.'

A perennial problem troubling the aid-receiving countries has been the burden of carrying all costs which could be described as local. Fortunately, here there is substantial progress to record, since the UNDP has adopted the principle of dividing total costs, both local and external, between UNDP and the recipient, based on the country's available resources.

Although educational aid over the last fifteen years has shown valu-

able results, there have been a considerable number of miscalculations and mistakes, a repetition of which still has to be guarded against. Examples are: training centres which produce trainees that the employers reject or have to retrain because the course was too academic and not worked out with the employers in advance; study grants given to socially-favoured students who do not use their qualifications later for development purposes, or to students who acquire knowledge insufficiently adapted to the needs of their countries, or who remain abroad; scholarships awarded for study abroad when places are vacant domestically in institutions newly created with the help of foreign aid; pilot schools established which are too expensive to become models for further extension; equipment supplied which is too sophisticated for local maintenance and becomes a white elephant; over-expensive buildings constructed on European standards in tropical climates; institutions set up to serve specialized purposes which in fact become diverted to take care of general educational pressures; technical universities established by several donors without regard to the overall supply and demand for their output, leading to over-production of high-level engineers; creation of unnecessarily high technical levels with an inadequate support base of technicians and of general education to give flexibility to the labour force.

A further difficulty is that indiscriminate study abroad programmes create 'brain-drain'. Unesco experience is that 'brain-drain' is small when scholarships are awarded at the post-graduate level. Generally, it seems that the private movement of individuals rather than aid programmes are responsible for 'brain-drain'.

3. Organizational problems

In educational aid, three intermediaries have to come into play before results can be achieved: first, there have to be countries who have funds or educational resources available and the will to transfer them to developing countries; secondly, there have to be the aid agencies, whether bilateral or international, which utilize the funds; and thirdly, there have to be competent authorities in the recipient countries to apply them.

Within these three groups of intermediaries and cutting across them, there are various organizational affiliations. The developing countries

take part in regular regional conferences of Ministers of Education and over-all planning authorities sponsored by Unesco, which suggest priorities and express views on aid flow. Some of the aid-providing countries participate in these conferences because of special links with particular regions, but the conferences basically express the educational objectives and plans of the developing countries. The main aid-supplying countries on their side (other than the centrally-planned socialist states) meet separately in the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD. In the United Nations and Unesco both developed and developing countries meet on equal terms, but at no central point is there a continuing international discussion of educational aid as a whole—official, bilateral and private.

Basically, therefore, it cannot be said that educational aid is planned at present or even co-ordinated at the supply end, with the exception of multilateral aid which is the minor part.

For this reason and because educational aid comes from a variety of sources, it is not possible to apply the standard forms of educational planning available in the domestic sphere. There is no central mass of manoeuvrable resources under a single jurisdictional authority as in the case of the individual state. What are required are methods of exchange of information and consultation among providers of aid, and the establishment of as many common principles and practices as can be agreed upon, so as to secure the maximum possible homogeneity of effort. An individual donor country or agency can of course improve the planning of its own contribution to particular countries. However, except where the dimensions of its aid are exceptionally large, its impact on a recipient country's educational plan is seldom great because of the multiplicity of other donors and the relatively small proportion of aid in the total educational expenditure.

At the recipient end there are also limitations due to the fact that it is not known in advance what contribution different donors will make. Most donors decide only after they have been through the process of diagnosing needs and selecting activities (usually in conformity with the broad lines of the educational plan) which are most suited to the type of contribution they can offer. Moreover the time-periods over which domestic resources are planned and appropriated do not necessarily fit in with those of the aid agencies.

The Country Programming Procedure recently introduced by the United Nations is an important step forward since it seeks the long-term programming of aid in relation to national plans. At present,

however, these procedures are limited to aid emanating from the United Nations family of agencies and do not cover aid from other sources. Whether it will be possible to extend the United Nations Country Programming Procedure to cover bilateral aid, which has many different patterns and objectives, and to bring about, thereby, a closer integration of aid as a whole with national development plans, remains still an open question. In the meantime, progress is being made in a number of countries under informal procedures which consist of unofficial meetings (called frequently by the governments of the recipient countries) at which exchanges of information and discussion take place among the various providers of aid.

Positive steps that aid providers can take are to improve and standardize their systems of diagnosis of needs and their procedures for the identification and preparation of projects. It should be part of such standard procedures for all aid agencies to survey the information on the country's plans and projections provided through the United Nations Country Programming Procedures. This would enable an overall view to be formed of possible contributions in order that the different sources of aid can complement each other's efforts.

A number of countries include aid requirements in their educational plans, but the tendency frequently is to think of extending previous projects rather than of planning new ones. The new ones that come into existence tend to arise *ad hoc* as aid requirements disclose themselves through missions from donors or surveys by international agencies.

The growth of the number of medium-sized and smaller donors has accentuated problems of co-ordination, since only the largest donors and the multilateral agencies have the resources to survey the whole educational picture of a country. Unesco is in a strong position to supply the technical information needed for co-ordination, even if aid policies themselves remain inevitably in the hands of individual donors. The multilateral agencies have a strong position in the matter since recipient countries naturally prefer to discuss their priorities in the light of the norms established by themselves individually or as Members of Unesco rather than in the light of policies and influences, conscious or unconscious, of bilateral aid donors.

There had always been good examples of multi-donor projects, e.g. the University of East Africa, which involved eight bilateral donors, seven multilateral agencies and six British and American Foundations, but it had been difficult to see any logic in the division

of their responsibilities, which grew up in an *ad hoc* manner. There had also been cases of donor countries competing to have different types of textbooks adopted based on different teaching concepts—not necessarily, unfortunately, best related to the recipient countries' level of educational development.

Part Five

The use and planning of educational assistance: strategies, criteria and measures of redeployment

A partial answer at the human level to harsh criticism of existing educational aid is to turn the focus to the individuals—the pupils and parents concerned. This would accord with the motivations of the populations who pay for aid programmes, which are to assist people rather than governments. It is in the intermediary process that assistance to countries and systems and the jousting of politicians become important, since people have to be reached through national administration and educational systems.

The usual position of pupils and parents can be summed up by saying that they want education, and the best type of education according to the prevailing local standards. Rather than risk acquiring what the community will rate as second-best education, even though it will make them better producers, they prefer the traditional type of education. The problem of the individual is best seen on the spot. Groups of children approach the school when it is opened. Those who have places enter carrying satchels or parcels with scraps for their midday meal and perhaps some textbooks—many have walked several miles to get there. Those for whom there are no places hang around hoping for some miracle that does not take place. Inside the school, the teaching is perhaps by rote, the content poor, the methods and equipment very old-fashioned. Those in school acquire some sense of discipline and prestige. The prestige extends to their parents who often make sacrifices to meet the cost of attending school: loss of the child's services in the fields or at home; school clothes; etc. Those outside the school remain footloose and under-privileged.

This is the kind of situation in which education is regarded as making children 'less fit' (see quotation from Pearson Report on page 43

above). Tibor Mende states (p. 129): 'A large part of the education at present imparted in the poor countries turns out to be positively harmful.' A similar extremity of view is visible in the *Report of the commission on international development*[1] when it states that 'we hope... that international aid will be designed not to provide consumer goods but to create or develop production potential... not to furnish paper but to assist in establishing a national paper industry.' Obviously this is good economic development doctrine which must be part of development aid policies, but immediate needs also have to be met.

Certainly, if the matter is considered at the human level, it is hard to see how it could be harmful to assist these deprived children to participate in the education their community is able to offer at its level of economic, social and cultural development. The idea of withholding aid for such children pending the modernization of the school system or the creation of a national paper industry does not bear examination, either on practical or on moral grounds.

This type of issue is dealt with in the Executive briefing paper by Jean-Marie Domenach published by the United Nations.[2] He states:

> 'All this suggests that whereas development demands a sustained effort the reasons for giving aid are not sufficiently thought out. Does a father question his obligations towards his son, when the son gets bad marks at school?... Soon, the accused turns into an accuser and criticizes the under-developed country and former colony for not being able to make proper use of its independence. Compassion, too, which makes it possible to arouse mass interest and prompts admirable individual vocations, is subject to dangerous vagaries: people weary of feeling pity, especially for the populations of distant continents, and they become unconsciously hardened to the phenomenon of poverty.'
>
> He further states: 'Morality does not consist in eliminating base feelings and replacing them by lofty ones because the two kinds are too closely intermingled; it consists in harnessing the greatest possible amount of human resources for the service of the good.'

It is equally true of educational aid that the task is to harness all possible resources and not to take the easy path of 'take it or leave it' of the perfectionist.

1. See *Partners in development*, op. cit.
2. See Jean-Marie Domenach, *Our moral involvement in development*, New York, United Nations Centre for Economic and Social Information, 1971 (Executive briefing papers, 4).

1. Strategies and criteria

At the level of both the statesman and the administrator what measures, then, may be suggested to improve the process of educational assistance? The first is that educational assistance, like overall aid, should be more directed than at present to social, in addition to economic, objectives and to the under-privileged sections of the population. The second is that, while really urgent demands of the ongoing system should be met, educational aid as a whole should be more carefully evaluated and better related to new and emergent needs. The third is that providers of educational aid should put in hand specific measures to redeploy their operations in view of the above purposes. Redeployment takes time and little of it has yet been started. The fourth is that the volume of educational aid should be increased over the next few years in order to add to its manoeuvrability pending redeployment.

As regards the possible increase of the volume of educational aid, Mr. McNamara, President of the World Bank Group, commented as follows in his address to the Board of Governors, September 1972:

> 'Current development programs are seriously inadequate. They are inadequate because they are failing to achieve development's most fundamental goal: ending the inhuman deprivation in hundreds of millions of individual lives throughout the developing world. Why are these programs failing? There are two overriding reasons: the affluent nations are not moving effectively enough to assist the indigent nations; and the indigent nations are not moving effectively enough to assist the poorest 40 per cent of their own populations... Collectively, the affluent nations are currently providing only half the targeted 0.7 per cent of their GNPs in the Official Development Assistance which will make so decisive a difference to the development efforts of the poor countries... The rich nations are not being asked to diminish their riches in order to help the poor nations. They are only being asked to share a tiny percentage of their continually increasing wealth.'

The great challenge for planners of educational aid, given the political will for the reform of aid which seems widespread, is how to maximize present advantages while redeploying for the future. This means not only adopting new strategies but also attacking the difficulties which hold up the implementation of revised policies when they are formed.

These difficulties are not necessarily the same as those which beset educational planning on the domestic level.

Dr Coombs, it will be recalled, in the passage cited earlier from his book *The world educational crisis* describing the aid effort, wrote: 'Everyone involved in it has been too busy trying to move ahead to find time for retrospective reflection.' It is clear that more discussions involving both the suppliers and recipients of aid are required on the subject of what are suitable aid strategies for education, what constitutes good aid projects and what measures of redeployment of aid resources are required. International organizations should promote such exchanges of view at the technical level.

What, then, might be a suitable overall strategy for providers of educational aid against which they can test their contributions, yet which will necessarily vary considerably from donor to donor? The following principles are suggested to govern such a strategy.

An effective *assistance strategy in education* should: a) help and encourage educational reform wherever it is taking place, support educational research and development (R and D) and provide finance for pilot experimental projects, the results of which would be susceptible of diffusion; b) since existing innovation is limited and designs for new educational patterns fitted to local conditions are scarce, it should also apply a good deal of effort to developing the capacity to undertake educational R and D (i.e. helping to build up the required applied research institutions, trained personnel and administration which can take the lead in educational regeneration); c) at the same time, for the reason that relatively little innovation is taking place at present, it should allow no delays or gaps to arise in meeting the effective needs of existing systems. This is not only important educationally. It is also important because a number of issues such as avoidance of excessive population growth, better income distribution, greater social justice, less unemployment and control of pollution are greatly affected by the quantitative progress of education and literacy. In these matters, the seventies may reach points of no return and time is running out.

The implementation of such a strategy of educational aid depends on identifying in the particular country concerned: a) its educational needs for the purpose of development; b) the changes needed to make the impact; c) the special contribution aid can bring.

Guidance can be obtained as to the first point from, on the one hand, the overall economic and social development plan and the educational

needs which derive from it and, on the other, the objectives and strategy of the supplier of aid. Guidance on the second point comes from a critical examination of the educational plan and on the third is derived from criteria on what is a good aid project.

Criteria of a good educational aid project would seem to be: that it should be clearly requested by the recipient country and meet a defined area which cannot be met domestically, quantitatively or qualitatively; that it is consistent with the national development plan; that there should be a commitment in the recipient country to development policies; that it should be carefully related to the recipient country's resources as well as to its needs; that new institutions or methods introduced should be of a kind which it is within the power of the recipient country to keep up when the aid terminates; that it should have a catalytic effect, which means that it must have the necessary critical mass and duration to have a sizeable impact (alone or through complementarity with other aid projects), and not to peter out; also it should take care not only of the direct needs but of those created by the repercussions of the direct aid (package projects).

Conversely, aid which generates recurrent expenditure which the national budget cannot afford should be avoided; pilot projects should not be at a level of sophistication and expensiveness which prevents them from being propagated more widely; loans and credits should not place an undue debt burden on the recipient country; aid programmes should not overload the recipient with administrative work which it is not in a position to undertake because the projects are too complicated or too innovatory. Also from the standpoint of the donor, aid has normally to be identifiable in terms of its sources (the taxpayer or private contributor likes to see his effort ascribed to him). Further, in the interest of all concerned, it should have a mechanism of evaluation incorporated into it.

It is also desirable that the project be *co-ordinated* with the efforts of other aid suppliers in the recipient country. The present unsatisfactory situation as regards co-ordination of the supply of aid dates from the beginning of large-scale technical assistance in the fifties. At that time, sixty-four countries who are now independent were not self-governing and there was great competition among the bilateral suppliers of aid to maintain, as the number of independent countries grew, the possibilities which aid opened to them to conserve or develop cultural and political interests ('trade follows aid').

Since then the political links have become largely stratified and the

area of manoeuvrability in educational aid is much smaller than it was. For this reason, and because of current tendencies (e.g. in United States aid) towards multilateralization, well-conducted attempts to improve co-ordination have a greater chance of success today.

While, at the recipient end, there are clear gains from planning the impact of the different contributions, the question may well be asked whether central planning is necessary at the supply end, in view of the plurality of bilateral and non-governmental agencies involved. The case for some measure of indicative planning is threefold. Firstly, that the present system tends to neglect the least-developed countries, where the objectives of aid are harder to meet and operational difficulties are greater. Secondly, the direction of the flow of aid is greatly influenced by historical connexions and, from the standpoint of equity, contains biases. Thirdly, co-ordination and planning at the recipient end, while a partial reply at the operational level, is not an antidote to policies leading to the inequitable distribution of aid resources.

The improvement of educational aid means greater professional —as compared with administrative—involvement on the part of aid agencies. More staff should be employed on project selection, on evaluation of substantive results and on contacts with research institutions, and fewer on administrative routines applying preconceived ideas. This, in turn, means more staff training and seminars and the use of catalytic groups of experts with operational experience, new ideas and sound judgement, who are not weighed down by heavy administrative responsibilities. Given the large size of the annual expenditure on educational aid from all sources, the ratio of benefit to cost from improving its effectiveness can be very high. An increase in the resources of the IIEP and similar bodies to promote joint discussion and training of operational personnel from both the supply and the recipient sides of the process could have a high pay-off.

For the purpose of seeking opportunities for redeployment, it would be useful to set up in each aid agency a small unit of experienced experts, without administrative responsibilities, whose task would be to advise on problems of education and redeployment of resources towards new types and patterns of aid.

While, as was shown above, there cannot in the nature of things be a system of the overall planning of educational aid since the suppliers of aid are diverse and subject to different legislatures, more can be done to promote informal consultation and exchanges of view at

the country level. This can be done through the United Nations Country Programming and by informal encounters of suppliers of aid, usually arranged by the recipient government, where both bilateral and multilateral agencies meet to facilitate the harmonization of their aid at the field level. Bilateral aid, including that which supports mutually sought cultural and economic ties, will always have its importance in international co-operation, but a movement towards greater use of multilateral agencies is desirable; this will help to eliminate political biases and improve co-ordination. The Funds-in-Trust system, under which Unesco acts as an agent for individual bilateral contributions, is a valuable combination of the advantages of both systems and deserves extended use.

It is also important for aid suppliers to continue the clarification of their aims and methods, and there is a need to distinguish between the different types of operation—relieving of bottlenecks, pump-priming, short- and medium-term bridging operations, catalytic and innovatory activities, etc.—which have different procedural and practical requirements. Especially important is a realistic appraisal of the right balance between supporting present systems and aiding future reform. While recognizing the failings of present systems, it is necessary also to appreciate that it is difficult for the quality of education in the developing countries to be much higher than their economic, social and administrative levels.

It is also not very useful to chide aid-suppliers for drawing benefits from their aid. Educational aid undoubtedly brings, as other forms of aid, certain benefits to the aid-suppliers, cultural, political and economic, as well as to the recipients. The nature of international co-operation, as it exists today, is that there should be benefit on both sides, and when aid budgets are drawn up and defended, whether in the West or in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, the basis is stated to be mutual interest as well as moral imperatives. On the less positive side, it means that educational aid has a much larger loan component than would appear justified by the condition of indebtedness of the developing countries. This matter is one which deserves more intensive study, since with the growth of the educational financing of the World Bank—roughly half 'soft' IDA credits and half 'hard' IBRD loans—the proportion of loans in the total educational aid is increasing and adding to the already heavy indebtedness of the developing countries.

The tendency is for the aid given in the form of loans and credits

by the World Bank Group to be concentrated on programmes which commit the recipient countries to important changes in their educational systems. Where the diagnosis and project preparation have been well done these changes often have an important impact on development. There is, however, a need which is less often met for projects which involve the tuning-up of the existing structure. In these cases the requirement is not so much for large capital outlays for buildings and equipment so much as small-scale inputs of equipment or experts. To some extent this need is met by the UNDP but it may well be that a greater degree of flexibility could usefully be introduced in World Bank operations for this purpose.

2. Measures of redeployment

If an entirely new system of educational aid were to be conceived now in order to meet the needs of the Second Development Decade, it would no doubt have a very different structure from that prevailing at present. It would contain a larger component of curriculum development, teacher-training and innovative projects which would help the countries to find new and indigenous solutions to today's needs; a smaller amount of study abroad, foreign teachers and experts working within the framework of traditional systems of education and technical training.

A redeployment of aid resources in this sense cannot be brought about by a stroke of the pen. It is a difficult process even when the necessary decisions have been made and the spirit for change is strong, but the sooner a start is made the better. In this process the requirements of short-term productivity should not be sacrificed while revised programmes are being worked out, even if the present means of meeting them leave much to be desired. The United Nations strategy for the Second Development Decade states:

> 'Developing countries will formulate and implement educational programmes taking into account their development needs. Educational and training programmes will be so designed as to increase productivity substantially in the short run and to reduce waste.'

Activities of this kind which are particularly important are projects which help to meet urgent shortages of qualified manpower and which raise the level of literacy and basic education in the population,

especially in relation to the adoption of improved agricultural methods and the better use of the environment.

Some approaches might be as follows. The first step in redeployment would seem to be for each supplier of aid to establish a set of principles and objectives to govern its future aid policy, having regard to the type of aid it is in a position to give (examples of this are the United Kingdom White Paper and the Sector Papers issued by the United States Aid Administration and the World Bank).

The next step is to define the key points at which redeployment is both effective and most feasible, having regard to the policy and functions of the suppliers of aid. Thus an agency particularly concerned with first-level education might concentrate its resources upon a limited number of basic issues, e.g. the restructuring of the first-level cycle, curriculum development, the reduction of drop-out, and non-formal education to supplement the formal sector. An agency heavily involved in study abroad might well promote evaluation and cost-benefit studies of the working of its aid as compared with training at home or in third countries, and place its aid in accordance with the result. The Australian Aid Administration has already acted in this way.

The existing system of aid through foreign experts and counterparts should be made more incisive and the results more lasting by institutionalizing it whenever possible. The temporary individual expert has his continuing role in well-defined cases, but greater emphasis is needed on university-to-university aid and on co-operation among educational institutions which have 'memories' (continuing personnel and, when possible, data banks), so that results can be better evaluated and digested. The institutions selected should be those able to contribute to educational innovation and regeneration. This could also relieve aid agencies of a good deal of the burden—a particularly difficult one—of the recruitment of experts and the maintenance of quality. The latter is growing in importance *pari passu* with increased sophistication among educational administrators in the recipient countries. Subcontracting advisory services to high quality institutions is therefore encouraged and new sources of expertise should be built up.

This applies particularly to the promotion of expertise in educational problems, especially in the field of innovation and the wider concept of education which embraces non-formal education, in the developing countries themselves. Research and development projects should be supported within the universities and educational institutes of the aid-receiving countries. Specific areas of activity where re-

deployment of effort is needed are numerous and some examples are given in the following paragraphs.

Agencies which finance the expansion of technical education in the formal educational system should review their operations in the light of an evaluation of the follow-through of the trainees into employment. When there is evidence of insufficient adaptation of the training to actual industrial and agricultural needs, new patterns of training should be evolved in closer co-operation with employers. Existing patterns of collaboration, technical and financial, between the state and employers to meet manpower needs might be extended and improved and become targets for external financial aid *pari passu* with aid to the formal system. In countries where considerable foreign investment in the form of physical capital is due to enter the economy (e.g. Indonesia), this type of solution, involving employers' contributions, could well be a useful buttress to the development of the educational infrastructure. Experience exists in Latin America (Brazil, Peru, Colombia) of joint efforts of this kind; there is little elsewhere.

Also important would be a redeployment which linked educational aid more closely with overall investment so that techniques of production which were employment-intensive and education-intensive would be preferred to those which economized on educated labour. Minimum educational levels will always remain low unless there is the necessary demand for education. The factors of price and competitiveness of industry have to play their role in such choices of technology but not at the minimum educational level, since this has to be attained in any event for social and political reasons. Thus, when aid is given for an industrial or agricultural enterprise or public works project, the effort required to create the minimum conditions should be put into the investment budget of the project. This would have a catalytic effect on the country's social, as well as economic, progress.

Another means of assisting social as well as economic progress through educational aid is to allocate more resources to scholarships within the country rather than for study abroad. A review of educational aid to a country which was risking political collapse because its social structure was too rigidly stratified showed that the extensive external aid which had been given had done nothing to promote social mobility through scholarship ladders and educational democratization despite the evident need.

Strategies are determined not only by objectives but also by means. On the basis of the proportion of educational aid in total aid continuing

to grow, or even remaining stable—if the target of 0.7 per cent of the GNP of developed countries for official aid were attained—there would be a doubling or more of educational aid resources. In practice, however, as was seen in Part One, a great deal of present bilateral aid is not manoeuvrable and additional aid is needed to cover new types of programmes and innovations.

A further approach might be to increase the provision of educational loans to students. There are a number of national loan programmes, e.g. in Latin American countries, notably Colombia where ICETEX (Instituto Colombiano de Crédito Educativo y Estudios Técnicos en el Exterior) has operated a successful programme of financing study abroad by loans since 1953. Grants by donor countries to supplement the resources of such programmes would be a useful additional method of aid. The World Bank Group and the regional banks might also consider establishing such loans schemes with the backing of the governments concerned, which would have to take final responsibility for the administration of the schemes as is done in respect of ICETEX. This form of aid, because of its direct human appeal, might also be of special interest to foundations and non-governmental organizations.

Another form of redeployment is to relate educational aid more closely to external physical investment. Such action at the level of an aid-receiving country requires support in aid-supplying agencies to ensure that they are not creating labour forces through their educational aid strategies and at the same time dooming them to unemployment by inadequate physical investment strategies. The system operated by the centrally-planned economies in making educational aid part of their trade agreements and physical investments abroad appears to be an approach to this problem.

As part of a close link between educational aid and investment a greater involvement of industry in educational research and development might help to break the vicious circle of the high cost of the new educational media owing to the small size of the market. An effort is required to provide capital and technical assistance for the manufacture in the recipient countries, preferably by local industries or otherwise by subsidiaries, of cheap and durable media with low costs of maintenance.

It was suggested earlier that units should be set up in each aid agency with the exclusive role of evaluating aid policy and seeking new ideas. A question which these units should examine is whether or not there could exist some fundamentally different ways of disposing of aid resources. What are the possible alternatives?

To see the matter in perspective it is necessary to note that the figures for the total value of educational aid reflect the financial cost to the governments, agencies and private organizations providing the resources, but they do not necessarily represent a corresponding financial gain to the recipient countries, owing to various offsets. The assistance falling under the heading of loans and credits for instance, whether from the World Bank Group or from the centrally-planned socialist economies, requires repayment and interest. Even if they are on very easy terms they are still not outright gifts. If they are on harder terms they increase the long-term cost of the project correspondingly. This increase has to be found from public revenue and not from profits, as in the case of industry, although revenue is no doubt eventually increased by the additional educational facilities obtained. On the other hand, it is clear that large numbers of borrowing governments feel that for development purposes the pay-off of the new educational output is well worth while since educational loan requests are steadily increasing.

Further offsets occur in the form of remittances which expatriate teachers and experts make to their home countries, or orders for maintenance of equipment which accrue to aid-supplying countries. In the case of tied aid for equipment there is the offset of the difference of its cost and the competitive cost. Then there are the payments of local costs of technical assistance which have to be made under the prevailing procedures.

However, on the aid supplying side there are also items which make the figures quoted underestimate the cost to the donor countries. When aid-suppliers give support to the overall annual budgets of developing countries, education claims a substantial share, but this is not recorded in the educational aid statistics. Secondly, when students undertake study abroad they benefit from the educational subsidies prevailing in the countries in which they are received and no allowance is made for this in the aid figures.

The real benefit to the recipient country is reflected by the cost of the available alternatives of either doing without the expertise and teachers, or producing them domestically in a very short period (if practicable), or hiring them at commercial rates.

A fundamental change in the present system would be to convert the services which make up, in value, some three-quarters of total aid into actual money. The difficulty, strange as it may sound, would be what to do with the money. Capital expenditure to this amount would

generate additional recurrent costs far beyond the capacity of the annual budget to bear. On the other hand contributing this sum to annual budgets would distort the recipient countries' capacity for educational development, making it dependent on foreign aid, and the question would undoubtedly be raised whether the money should be put into the development pool, rather than allocated in advance to education.

Nevertheless, the money, as distinct from the services element in total aid, could usefully be increased in order to provide new types of aid. One way would be the encouragement of reciprocal aid between developing countries and of 'third country' training rather than training in the donor country. A novel suggestion would be that donor agencies should give grants or soft credits for foreign teachers engaged under contract by developing countries from other developing countries. Countries which have an over-production of second-level school graduates could find outlets for them in filling gaps in the teacher force in other countries (the Indian teachers in Ethiopia and Egyptian teachers in several Arab states would be examples).

Another novel suggestion would be to use aid to cover the foreign exchange costs of the developing countries' educational expenditure. This would account for only half of the total, however, and would hardly be practicable. The priorities for foreign exchange cover a wider scope than those for education, and the proper step would be to put the amount in the country's foreign exchange pool, rather than to earmark it for education.

Few developing countries can effectively integrate aid contributions with their educational plans owing to uncertainties and fluidities on both the supply and demand side. An improvement might be brought about if countries regularly identified and published their long-term aid needs, independent of specific supply possibilities. Individual suppliers of aid, while still wishing to identify projects on the basis of the analysis of each case, would, on this basis, be able to undertake more forward planning, especially if the quality of the forecasting of aid needs in the recipient countries can be improved through aid to staff training. In this connexion, the authorities concerned with the overall economic plan in the recipient countries should have 'desks' or units specifically concerned with examining the educational consequences of economic aid and the inflow of foreign capital. External investment in physical resources, whether official or private, should contain a component of funds and services to assist the develop-

ment of the human resources required. The same unit should be concerned with studying whether the production techniques to be utilized were adequately labour-intensive and education-intensive to provide outlets for youth.

Then there is the problem of statistics. Myrdal, in his work already cited,[1] states: 'In my opinion a major prerequisite for rational planning of the radical reform of the educational system in under-developed countries that is urgently needed is very much improved statistics, focused on the crucial questions. It should have higher priority than, for instance, even demographical studies.' Myrdal points out that the enrolment statistics are over optimistic because they do not show the length of education. However, the figures of enrolment ratios, which are those usually quoted, are over-pessimistic since they relate to children of school age in a European sense, and therefore assume that a system of eight to ten years of first-level school is a necessary standard for developing countries. They thus give encouragement to the idea that what is needed is more quantity whereas, as we have seen above, the real problem of basic education is frequently one of re-structuring the cycle to provide adequate provision of four to five years' effective schooling for all.

Engagement in research and development on a larger scale—especially if the recommendations of the Faure Commission of aid to recurrent expenditures for this purpose might be adopted—would call for additional aid resources in the immediate future. In the longer term these additions would be offset by a reduction of the traditional types of aid, such as expert services, teacher supply and study abroad.

For this purpose there is much to be said for the establishment of a voluntary fund for educational innovation in the developing countries. It might turn out that no real addition would be made to total resources because subscribers to this fund might reduce their existing contributions elsewhere. Even so, an advantage would have been obtained because the resources would have been made more mobile and manoeuvrable than they are at present, and the nature of such an independent fund would permit more risk-taking than is possible under present established channels. It is impossible to divorce the introduction of new educational patterns from risks, not only of a pedagogic nature, but also affecting the satisfaction or otherwise of parents and pupils.

1. *The challenge of world poverty*, op. cit.

The Funds-in-Trust system might also be a valuable tool in redeployment. The expansion of this system would be likely to reflect a genuine addition to aid funds, and not a substitution, because the facilities offered ease the task of aid-giving for the governments. It might tap new funds such as multi-national industries. The largest of such businesses have a turnover greater than the budgets of many countries; greater than the GNP of the smallest countries. Even if only a very small percentage of their revenue were to be devoted annually to educational aid, ascribed to them but operated through Unesco, the total amount would be very large. In addition foundations and voluntary agencies could increase their use of this system. Certain of such businesses have traditionally interested themselves in education and at least one large concern is at present studying the question of giving a percentage of its revenue to educational aid.

Obviously there would have to be discretion in the selection both of the sources of aid and the projects to which the aid was supplied, even though under the Funds-in-Trust system they would be operated by Unesco. There are, however, already procedures in operation in the United Nations system which govern the selection of such projects financed by these sources.

In terms of action to be taken by Unesco itself to promote the Funds-in-Trust system, an additional step would be to follow the practice adopted by Unicef of putting a series of 'noted projects' regulary before its Executive Board. The 'noted projects' are those which are considered worthy of financing as a priority contribution to development, but at the same time not within the existing resources of Unicef. Following the action of their being noted by the Board, the Secretariat tries to find individual governments or other sources of funds which will contribute to the projects, thus leading to the raising of additional funds.

Summary of suggestions

1. The needs of the Second Development Decade are that educational aid should concentrate less on quantity and more on renovation and quality. Moreover, it should contribute more than hitherto to social, as well as purely educational or economic, objectives. In particular, it should support innovatory projects and increase the developing countries' capacity for innovation.
2. While this is now widely appreciated, little actual redeployment of aid is yet visible. Redeployment will undoubtedly take time and will depend on the pace of change in the recipient countries themselves.
3. Meanwhile, therefore, the existing types of aid should not be cut off, but should be evaluated and progressively improved. While there is, at present, limited scope for major innovations, there is plenty of opportunity for partial improvements. An increase of aid resources may be required over the Decade, which may diminish as redeployment takes place.
4. Suppliers of aid should therefore review and clarify their aid objectives and strategies, and make a distinction among a) long-term strategy (reform); b) medium-term bridging operations (quantitative and qualitative support of on-going systems); c) tactical action (pump-priming for innovation, reduction of particular bottlenecks). They should improve their diagnosis of needs and identification and their preparation of projects, and include aid to social as well as economic development objectives on the basis of the UN strategy for the Second Development Decade. They should give preference to projects having 'multiplier' or 'breeder' effects, so as to stimulate capacity for develop-

ment and make greater use of 'package projects' which cover both the direct needs and those created by repercussions.

5. Bilateral aid suppliers should multilateralize aid as far as possible. At the same time it is necessary to recognize the role of bilateral aid in developing mutually favourable links between countries. There are also benefits in the plurality of aid sources and in the encouragement of private aid, while multinational industry should, in particular, be encouraged to contribute through the Funds-in-Trust system administered by Unesco.
6. Recipient countries should formulate and publish their long-term needs and, in countries receiving heavy aid, institutionalize the counterpart system over a ten-year period with special career inducements for continuity among the counterparts;
7. Educational aid should be increasingly institutionalized as far as possible and should move away from the system of using individual experts towards the greater use of universities and educational centres, in the developed and developing countries.
8. More assistance than hitherto needs to be allocated to educational research and experimentation, utilizing predominantly local institutions and experts for the purpose; national experts in the recipient countries should be used in the role of designers and activators of projects as well as that of counterparts; aid funds should be used for training educational personnel in those countries and to create poles of attraction around local initiatives for educational regeneration and so increase the countries' capacity for change; aid should also be used to support risk-taking and trial runs of new educational patterns suited to local conditions. To spearhead such activities, an International Centre for Educational Research and Innovation for the developing countries might be set up (or the International Institute for Educational Planning expanded for the purpose), so that help can be given to these countries by assuming the risks of carrying out pilot projects of innovation. The spirit of renovation should also pervade all existing programmes and centres.
9. Bilateral aid agencies should increase their contacts with Unesco and with the Country Programme Procedures of UNDP for the exchange of technical data to facilitate country and sectoral studies; multilateral agencies should circulate their technical reports to a wide range of aid-suppliers and create more informal co-ordination groups.

10. Both at the bilateral and multilateral level an effort should be made for a better integration of educational aid and physical investment. The situation in each developing country should be kept under review by 'desks, 'units' or 'project bureaux' in the planning ministry for the purpose of assessing the implications of physical investment for education, and vice versa. Both at the national and international level, governments should try to break the vicious circle of the high cost of the new educational media owing to the small size of the market by long-term commitments for the production of cheaper durable supplies.
11. There should be a review of the effectiveness of aid given to technical and vocational schools in the formal education system; aid to non-formal education should be stepped up wherever good projects can be found; the possibility of official aid for non-governmental and commercial educational and training institutions, with guarantees in suitable cases, should be studied.
12. Special priority should be given for aid to assist countries to attain basic education for all their citizens; and to forms of instruction to improve the employment possibilities and living conditions of unemployed youth.
13. Study-abroad programmes should be evaluated and compared with action to support local institutions, third-country training or scholarships within recipient countries.
14. The technology of education and the improvement of the communication of knowledge and ideas is a field in which aid can be particularly helpful and pilot projects should be initiated.
15. Forecasts should be made of material needs for education requiring imports for the period of the Second Decade on various assumptions, and possible bottlenecks should be assessed; procedures should be worked out at both the international and the national level to alleviate foreign-exchange bottlenecks affecting the supply of educational materials; the extension of the Unesco Book Coupon Scheme to other articles should be studied.
16. Aid from one developing country to another should be encouraged, when they have a common language and varying degrees of educational development.
17. Unesco should issue a publication detailing sources and conditions of aid—multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental—in education and a manual should also be published on how to identify, prepare and assess aid projects in education; also, models of

educational reform in typical developing countries should be prepared, costed and set beside existing models; they should phase the breaks in the linear progression of existing models so as to avoid gaps and indicate the quantities and types of aid needed.

18. Seminars and training courses, at which officials from both aid-providing and recipient countries could meet to discuss the technical problems of educational aid, should be encouraged and perhaps the International Institute for Educational Planning might play an important role in such an effort.
19. The briefing of experts and institutions entering the educational-aid field for the first time should be improved, utilizing modern briefing methods (audio-visual, study of actual situations, etc.) instead of purely verbal media.
20. There should be increased evaluation and improved statistics, with a long-term technical assistance project for the purpose.
21. All concerned should make a greater effort to improve both the reality and the image of the aid process at the aid-supplying, aid-receiving and the intermediary levels, so as to hasten the attainment by the developed countries of the target 0.7 per cent of their GNP allocated to official aid, and thus increasing aid to education; school textbooks in the developed countries and all educational material dealing with developing countries should be reviewed to ensure they adequately reflect aid needs and the 'philosophy' of international co-operation underlying the Second Development Decade; each educational aid agency should set up a small 'ideas group' of experts with experience of field work, but free of administrative responsibilities, to monitor the development of its present programme and to consider future measures of improvement and redeployment of educational aid resources.

IIEP book list

The following books, published by Unesco:IIEP, are obtainable from the Institute or from Unesco and its national distributors throughout the world:

Educational cost analysis in action: case studies for planners (1972. Three volumes)
Educational development in Africa (1969. Three volumes, containing eleven African research monographs)
Educational planning: a bibliography (1964)
Educational planning: a directory of training and research institutions (1968)
Educational planning in the USSR (1968)
Financing educational systems (series of monographs: full list available on request)
Fundamentals of educational planning (series of monographs: full list at front of this volume)
Manpower aspects of educational planning (1968)
Methodologies of educational planning for developing countries by J.D. Chesswas (1968)
Monographies africaines (five titles, in French only: list available on request)
New educational media in action: case studies for planners (1967. Three volumes)
The new media: memo to educational planners by W. Schramm, P.H. Coombs, F. Kahnert, J. Lyle (1967. A report including analytical conclusions based on the above three volumes of case studies)
Planning the location of schools (series of monographs: full list available on request)
Planning the development of universities - I (1971) *II* (1973. Further volumes to appear)
Population growth and costs of education in developing countries by Ta Ngoc Châu (1972)
Qualitative aspects of educational planning (1969)
Research for educational planning: notes on emergent needs by William J. Platt (1970)
Systems approach to teacher training and curriculum development: the case of developing countries by Taher A. Razik (1972)

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Managing educational costs by Philip H. Coombs and Jacques Hallak
Published by Oxford University Press, New York, London and Toronto, 1972
Quantitative methods of educational planning by Héctor Correa
Published by International Textbook Co., Scranton, Pa., 1969
The world educational crisis: a systems analysis by Philip H. Coombs
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H.M.Phillips has been leader of a number of World Bank/ Unesco missions and he has recently been consultant to Unesco, Unicef and the Ford Foundation on problems of educational aid. Earlier he was Director of Unesco's Office of Analysis of the Role of Education in Development. On leaving Unesco he worked as educational adviser to the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD.

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